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ART. I.—THE ETHICAL AND THE RELIGIOUS IN HUMAN LIFE.

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BY THE EDITOR.
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It will perhaps facilitate our inquiry into the relation between the ethical and religious spheres of human life, to notice first each one separately.

I. THE ETHICAL SPHERE.

The ethical life of man, both as an individual and in the social economy, develops through the free activity of the will in its relation to the moral law. Moral life has a nature basis in the appetencies that are implanted in humanity. Among these appetencies there are two that stand out prominently, the one, the instinct of self-preservation, the other, the force of the social principle. These appetencies correspond to the natural forces of attraction and repulsion, or the centripetal and centrifugal forces, in the operation of which every individual existence is differentiated and determined.

The appetency of self-preservation which is implanted in every individual develops in the sense or consciousness of right which asserts the independence of the individual over against the social economy. In its primitive form it is the assertion of individuality. In its development it leads to the assertion of human rights, as holding in the necessary freedom of the in

dividual over against the social organisms of the human race. It is the principle that differentiates the individual as a necessary condition to his integration in the social order of human life.

As appetency, however, it is a mere nature force, mere instinct, and has, as yet no moral character. In this form we find it in children and savages, where we find a certain instinctive assertion of individual independence. It is the assertion of this instinct which led *Hobbes* to designate man as a fighting animal, *omnes contra omnia*. It has reference to the individual's personal well-being, starting in the mere preservation of life and the perpetuation of the race, and reaching out then to the assertion of a sphere for the maintenance of *personal* existence. Every individual requires a sphere in which to live and move. This implies something more than merely the preservation of life and physical well-being. It implies the assertion and maintenance of a sphere of activity in which free room is afforded for the development of every individual as a person.

This appetency of individual and personal differentiation constitutes the nature basis for the doctrine of human rights. In order to become a moral power, however, it must be taken up in the will and developed under the authority of law. It thus becomes ethicized. In this process there is developed the doctrine of human rights, which development forms so extensive a chapter in human history. It has required ages for the human race to come to a clear understanding and assertion of these rights. They have become embodied in the *Common Law*, in *Statute Law*, and in *Jurisprudence*. We cannot stop to speak of them in detail. A mere reference to their classification among the most advanced nations in civilization and culture will suffice to show their scope. Thus we have the rights of *personality*, which secure the physical well-being of the individual, his freedom from all kinds of slavery, his right to choose his calling in life, to form the contract of marriage, &c., in short, all those rights of this character which have been guaranteed to him by the most advanced governments of the world.

Then there are the *rights of property, the rights of business and trade*, and the *rights of justice*, to which we cannot now more particularly refer.

The other appetency to which we have referred, is the appetency of social cöintegration, or the social principle, which constitutes the centripetal force, the attraction of the individual to the various forms of the social economy. The principle of individuation, by the force of which the individual is made to stand out and off in a relative independence, requires to be complemented by another principle, by which he is attracted into communion with the social economy. This is just as necessary to his proper development as the principle of independence to which we have referred. Whilst *Hobbes* designated man as a *fighting animal*, *Aristotle* designated him as a *political animal*, i. e., a mere member of the State.

The centrifugal principle is just as necessary as the centripetal principle. The individual can reach his proper completion only in communion with his kind. As in every organism, the parts are dependent on the life of the whole, so individuals of the human family can reach their proper destiny only in right relation and communion with the social economy.

We thus reach the significance of the social economy for the proper development of man's ethical life.

Here again we find that the moral life starts in a nature basis, the appetency of the *social principle*. There is in all men a natural instinct to seek communion with their kind. This is already adumbrated in nature below man. Then we find it in its nature forms in the instinct of children to form association, and in the savage life in the tendency to form tribes and clans. The individual is just as much dependent on the social order as the branch is dependent on the tree. Neither can exist without the other. Thus we have a nature basis also for the social organisms of the human race in the family and the state. These forms of organization are not ordained in an outward and mechanical way, but they enter into the very innermost constitution of humanity. We must be able to see in humanity some-

thing more than a mere aggregation of individuals. It is a complex organism, involving from the beginning the development of the race in the form of subordinate organisms, such as the family and the state.

These are the two forms especially in which the social principle, the centripetal force, comes to assert itself. Hence the ethical life of man requires for its completion, not only the assertion of the individual principle, but also the assertion of the social principle, by which the individual is cūintegrated in the communion of the family and the state.

If we should undertake to describe the whole ethical life of man, it would be necessary to dwell upon these social organisms, the family and the state, in which the individual reaches his moral completion. Our purpose is only to indicate the general character of this life. Morality requires that he should stand in his place, in the family and the state, and perform his proper functions in them, not only for his own interest and welfare, but also for the interest and welfare of others.

Thus far we have referred to the basis of the moral life in nature. It is not, by any means, implied by this that the moral is a product of the natural. Man is related on the one side to nature, but he is also related on the other side to the spiritual world, and in the unfolding of his life he is met by moral and spiritual forces that reveal his responsibility to a higher law than that of his merely natural impulses or appetencies.

Hence in the case of both the appetencies to which we have referred, human life is met at every point in its development by the presence and force of the moral law, according to which every person is to determine his life. The presence of this moral law is realized primarily in the human conscience, as a categorical imperative, according to the terminology of *Kant*. It is a law not extraneous to man, not standing over and above him, but one that asserts its authority in the innermost recesses of his life. Reverence for this authority of the moral law enthroned in man is, according to *Kant*, the spring of virtue, and

the obligation resulting therefrom is the principle of duty. It is called an imperative because it commands—"thou shalt," and "thou shalt not." It is called a categorical imperative, because its command is unconditional, and distinguished from a hypothetical command. We cannot give too much praise to Kant for the work he performed in overthrowing all utilitarian, selfish principles of morality, and establishing it upon the immoveable principle of the moral law.

Here, then, we find the principle of morality, the subjection of the will to the demands of the moral law. This law, through human consciousness, determines what is right in man's relation to himself and to his fellow-men. All rights have correlative duties, hence a classification of rights, such as that to which we have referred, implies, at the same time, a corresponding classification of duties, duties to self, and duties to our fellow-men.

In this view morality seems to be a result from the development of humanity. Thus Herbert Spencer regards it. Just as man has made progress in improving his physical condition from age to age, and has also advanced in knowledge, so he has gradually learned what are his proper moral relations, and sought to conform himself to them. That is right, according to this school, which proves itself most fitting, best adapted to advance the happiness of the individual and of society. We need not stop to discuss this view at length. We believe Kant sufficiently answered all such theories that make morality to proceed from any such merely external and selfish considerations. Such principles never could account for the binding authority with which the right addresses the conscience of men. It speaks with an authority that clearly is above men, and unquestionably proclaims a lawgiver who is the author of the moral law, and a judge of the actions of men.

We may, indeed, allow this much to the theory of Herbert Spencer and his school, that man has made progress in the discovery of right as applied to his social relations. The progress that has been made in defining and determining what is right, in the different codes of laws, and in the science of jurispru-

dence, confirms this. And we may even go so far as to grant that in this progress, man has been aided and led to discover the right by its adaptability to promote his well-being. But this would make this principle, that which is fitting, that which is most useful, and best promotes man's happiness, after all, only a condition, not a *cause*, of morality. The source of authority, as binding on the conscience, is the law of God. This, and nothing else, can account for the reverence men everywhere pay to its commands.

Thus we find an agreement between the data of human consciousness and the revealed law of God as given on Mt. Sinai, and which has become the substance of the code of morals in all the advanced nations of the world. This fact is sufficient to show that the revealed will of God, at once, meets the wants in man's moral nature. The supernatural revelation here is not something extraneous to human nature. The law given on Mt. Sinai was simply that moral law that had become dim and inoperative in human consciousness. And accordingly all Christian nations have adopted this code as the basis of their laws covering the same ground.

But just at this point we are compelled to differ from Kant, in his view of ethics, in this, that he stops at the *legalistic standpoint*. Kant knows no higher law of morals than reverence for the moral law. Christianity presents a higher principle, that of *love*. "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself." That was a command that the world could not learn of itself. It required the Son of God to announce this principle, as embodying the second table of the law. Kant held that love could not be a matter of obligation. It is a result of feeling. But our Lord announced the principle that love to man is the fulfilling of the second table of the law. This He taught on different occasions, and especially in the parable of the Good Samaritan. In that parable the doctrine is taught that man's love should extend to every thing that is human.

Man's relation to the moral law is three-fold. In the first stage he is *under* the law. It stands over him, and requires

his obedience. This is the stage of *Legalism*. It might, at first view, be supposed that this cannot be a moral relation, because it seems to reduce man to the condition of a slave. He obeys because he *must*, and as his obedience is not free, it would seem the relation must be void of the conditions necessary to constitute a free moral agent. But if this objection were valid, the government and discipline of children, and the constant authority of civil law in the state, which *compels* obedience, would be deprived of a moral character.

But when we consider that the moral law, however it touches man, is homogeneous with the human will, that the moral law is, indeed, universal will, and that this is just the element in which individual will reaches its freedom, we can see at once that this relation is moral. It is not like the authority exercised over an animal, where there may be training, but no education; but in the case of man it is a stage of moral development which looks towards a higher one for its completion.

The second stage is *Casuistry*, the state in which man comes to stand in the law, and *conscience* becomes the moral umpire. In this stage man becomes *conscientious*. He obeys the right because his conscience dictates obedience. This is Kant's idea of true moral freedom. The imperative of the moral law is now within man, and he obeys the right, not from compulsion or fear, not from any extraneous motive, such as self-interest in any form, but from reverence for the right as such. There is something very noble in this view of Kant's. It gives morality a high character. It elevates it above the theories of Utilitarianism and Eudæmonism. In planting morality upon this high ground Kant seemed to stand forth as a sort of second Moses, giving the law, as it were, a second time, in an age when skeptical and selfish theories had come to be almost universal.

But there is still a third stage of morality in which love becomes the controlling power. In this stage man rises, in a certain sense, *above* the law. It elevates him even above conscience. He obeys the right now, not merely because the law demands it, nor because conscience requires it, but because *he*

loves it. It is that stage occupied by our Saviour, when He said, "It is my meat to do the will of him that sent me, and to finish his work." This is the stage, we may say, in anticipation, to which Christianity elevates man. It is the stage in which man is freed from the bondage of the law, and is under grace.

It is important in considering this stage that although it is above the law, and above conscience, yet law and conscience are not left behind, but rather subsumed. Love and law now become correlatives, the one requires the other. Our Lord says, "Love is the fulfilling of the law." The love here spoken of is not mere natural affection, although this is not ignored, as is done in Kant's system. He allows no moral force or meaning to mere natural affection. But this natural affection becomes ethicized when it is taken up in the will, and man now loves in the spirit of the moral law. Such love still has its direction and guide in the moral law. It can include nothing that is unholy. It loves not the evil that is in men, but it loves men, and it impels to do all for their good that lies within human power. Here, then, we reach the perfection of morality, whose obligations we have regarded, as the reader will observe, as referring to man's relation to himself and to his fellow-men.

So far as the science of philosophical ethics is concerned, we make room only for these two classes of duties, duties to self and duties to our fellow-men. This classification does not embrace the third class, duties to God, which is usually given in systems of ethics. And this for two reasons, as they are very well brought out in (*Kant's Metaphysics of Ethics*): 1st, because the consideration of duties to God properly belongs to the subject of religion, or theology; and secondly and mainly, because by such a three-fold classification, duties to God would seem to be *co-ordinate* to duties to self and to our fellow-men; whereas all duties, of whatsoever character, are duties to God. It is the same here as in the case of the partition of the twenty-four hours of the day, when it is said, so many to work, so many to rest, so many to recreation, and *all to God*.

We have thus far endeavored in a very general way to indicate the sphere of Ethics and Moral Philosophy. We have purposely limited this sphere to man's relation to himself and to his fellow-men. In this view, ethics gives the *principles* on which all social sciences are based. Sociology in general, and such sciences as Political Economy in particular, in order to be sound, must revert to the principles of *Ethics* in order to justify themselves. All that relates to the rights of the individual, and to the family and the state must find its basis in *Ethics*. This alone would suffice to show how far reaching the science of Ethics is. But there is another subject of still wider scope to which we must now turn.

II. THE SCIENCE OF RELIGION.

Religion, according to the etymology of the word, has to do especially with man's relation to God. We do not stop to consider the different etymologies of the word, on which, we know, there is a difference of opinion. As there is a nature basis for the development of man's moral nature, so there is also a nature basis for religion. Man is naturally a religious being. There is implanted in his nature a consciousness of God, and a sense of dependence on Him. This is proved by the fact that among all nations there are forms of religious service and worship. Cicero said, "There is no nation without the Gods," and Voltaire said, "If there were no God man would have to invent one." This religious principle on the nature side has its root in the higher spiritual nature of man; for as there are spheres of physical, intellectual, and ethical life, so there is a sphere of spiritual life.

It is in the spirit especially that there is developed a sense or consciousness of God, a being who is above his creation, and who is to be loved and served by man. This religious sphere of human life is not merely a cöordinate sphere alongside other spheres, but it is that in which they are to reach their completion. What we mean is that the religious life of man determines at last his moral and intellectual character. Even among

heathen nations, an ungodly man will develop into an immoral man. Only the godly will learn to reverence the moral law. On this point we shall speak more fully hereafter.

But while religion has a nature basis in man, it cannot reach its true character without an approach of God to man, in the way of salvation and redemption. The history of the world proves that in some way man lost the true knowledge of God. All the heathen systems prove this. Hence it became necessary for God to reveal Himself to man, which revelation presents the basis of revealed religion. This revelation culminated in the incarnation of the Son of God. He revealed to man what had been lost, the spiritual character of God—"God is a spirit," His unity over against polytheism, the divine Fatherhood, the Holy Spirit, in short, all that knowledge of God that is contained in the Bible.

Religion as thus revealed had, of necessity, to assume primarily a redemptive character, because man had become alienated from God by sin. Hence it became necessary to provide a sacrifice for sin, and a Redeemer from sin and death. We need not dwell specifically upon these leading characteristics of Christianity.

On the subjective side the conditions for man's restoration to normal relation to God are repentance and faith, and submission to the order ordained in the kingdom of grace for his spiritual life and health. What we particularly turn attention to in this connection is that the innermost substance of religion becomes actualized in man as LOVE TO GOD. As morality comes to its completion in love to man, so now religion reaches its crown in love to God, supreme love. "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy mind, and soul, and strength; this is the first and great command." What is the origin of this love? In general we may say it is the consequence of man's restoration to the divine favor. Man loves God for what God has done for him, and because the Holy Spirit now works love in his renewed heart.

We have now reached a sort of common ground for ethics and religion, and we may therefore consider next

THE RELATION BETWEEN THEM.

Let us take up first the point just reached, viz.: that the deepest substance of morality is love to man, and the deepest element in religion is love to God. How are these two related to each other?

We think it is safe to say that love to God is the source of true love to our fellow-men. The order is thus given in the Decalogue as expounded by our Lord. "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God, &c., this is the first and great command; and the second is *like* unto it, thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself." The two are evidently so bound together that they cannot be separated.

Is it not possible, then, for one who does not believe in God, and who loves not God, still to love his fellow-men, to be a true philanthropist? We think the answer must be given in the negative. No love to God, no true love to man.

It is true the matter is put reversely in one place in Scripture. "If a man say I love God, and hateth his brother, he is a liar; for he that loveth not his brother whom he hath seen, how can he love God whom he hath not seen?" But in other passages it is given the other order. "And this commandment have we from him, that he who loveth God love his brother also."

We should perhaps understand that our love to God is the result or product of His love to us. It is of the nature of the divine love to perform this circle, if we may so speak. God seeks to impart Himself to His creatures. In the case of man, when the impediments to the divine love have been removed, that love flows into the human heart, and begets a return love from man to God.

But God loves others as He loves us, hence if we are in the love of God, that love will impel us to love all those whom God loves. Just as children love each other, because the parents

love all the children and the children love the parents. "Beloved, if God so loved us we ought also to love one another." This we believe to be the source of all true love to our fellow-men, when it rises to the character of *divine charity*. Such love was not known among the heathen. In the Greek language there are various words to designate love. Sexual love, brotherly love, as between relatives, and in a broader sense, love in general, as philanthropy, but the heathen heart never knew what true philanthropy is. Hence the New Testament coins a new word to express this kind of love, and gives it a meaning which was never present to the Greek.

It was only the advent of Christianity that taught the world what it is to love man as man. Whereas in ancient times love was limited to certain classes, while the slave was only despised, and the weak and lame and blind were looked upon as mere impediments, when our Lord came He singled out such as the objects of His love and care. In the parable of the *Good Samaritan* He taught the self-righteous Jew, that he must not limit his love by race or condition, but that it must go out freely to all. This is growing to be more and more the spirit of the modern age. Civilization in all Christian lands is becoming more and more permeated by it. The codes of laws are coming to treat all men as equals, and charitable institutions are established for the destitute and the unfortunate, the blind, the insane, &c.

What is true of human society is true of individuals. No man can truly love his fellow-men who does not love God. There are kinds of love of which men are capable who are not under the power of the Christian religion, but it will not bear every test. At some point or other it will fail.

If now what we have tried to set forth be true, that love to God is the highest development of religion in the hearts of men, and the soul, the inspiring cause of all religious acts, and if love to our fellow-men is the highest form of morality;—if, moreover it is true that love to man is begotten by love to

God, or the divine love in us; then we have reached the conclusion that religion is the source of morality.

This, indeed, is not always consciously so. Love may begin to operate first in the form of charity. In the unfolding of our life we believe it does begin thus. The child loves its parents and brothers or sisters before it becomes conscious of love to God. And among all classes, where, for instance, there is no proper knowledge of the true God, certain imperfect forms or degrees of morality are developed. But that which is developed thus later in time, may nevertheless be primary in significance. The love to its friends and fellow-men that is developed in the heart of a child could not maintain itself pure and whole, if it were not fed and nourished by an awakening of love to God. In the degree in which a man grows irreligious, he will also grow immoral. There may indeed be an outward form of morality, a legalism, without religion, but it is abortive, it never comes to completion. So also there may be a defective morality in religious persons, but so far as true religion pervades the spirit, it will draw along with it a pure morality.

We believe that we have here reached the deepest point in the relation between religion and morality. Our view makes religion the deepest element in the life of man. It is a principle which, seated in the spirit, exerts a controlling power over all other spheres of human life. It is the source and foundation of all true morality.

There may be other ways of accounting for the immediate cause of love to our fellow-men. It may be said that we love them because we see in them the image of God. No matter how much that image has been effaced, it is still not entirely obliterated. Man is still God-like. There is something in him we must reverence. Hence we love man because of this image of God which he still bears in him.

Some of course would account for it on the basis of natural sympathy and the cultivation of the social principle. But this natural sympathy, however important for the moral affection of love as a nature preparation, is yet only in the sphere

of nature, is not moral, and therefore it explains nothing. In the form of natural affection it is something good, it often leads to noble deeds of self-denial, but unless it becomes ethi- cized, that is governed by the will through a rational motive, it can never be the basis of moral character. It will remain more or less selfish. Where there is sympathy there is also antipa- thy, so that while the former leads to natural affection, the latter leads just as naturally to dislike and hatred.

The fact may be pointed to that noble instances of self-sac- rifice have been made by men for their fellow-men, where the mo- tive of religion is not manifest, instances of instinctive hero- ism. Men are found willing to die for their country, scientists have sacrificed their lives for the advancement of science, physi- cians for the preservation of human life, soldiers for the sake of duty, commanders of vessels for their crews and passengers. All this we grant. It shows how much regard for right and noble affection there still remains in the breast of man. But still we maintain, if you remove the religious motive, reverence for God and His law, all this would gradually lose its power, and society lapse into barbarism. Love for our fellow-men cannot ripen into and become pure charity, which is some- thing higher than instinctive heroism, without receiving its nourishment and support in the love of God begotten in the heart.

While, therefore, we allow that love to our fellow-men has a natural basis in our nature, we still maintain that its source as pure unselfish love is the love of God in us. The divine love which goes out to all is the power in us that prompts us to love all whom God loves. Remove the divine love from the human heart, let it be shut out by man's unbelief and hatred to God, and as a necessary consequence the springs of love to our fellow- men will dry up, and instead of love the spirit of selfishness and hard-hearted indifference to the welfare of others, and then hatred, and envy, and malice, will reveal themselves. Just as the waters come down from the mountains and hills and flow out into the valleys and plains, so the love that comes down

from God into the human heart flows out then by its own inherent nature, laterally, to all men as our neighbors.

We might rest our inquiry here. But as there are those who are not prepared to accord this high character to morality, who perhaps would say that such unselfish love belongs rather to the sphere of religion than mere morality, we may prosecute our inquiry, taking the more ordinary view of morality, as signifying the agreement of the human will with the moral law, and the conforming of the life to its requirements, so far as our relations to self and our fellow-men are concerned. This is the common view of morality, whether individual or social. Men who conscientiously recognize the requirements of the acknowledged precepts of justice and equity, and conform their actions to them, are considered moral men. Public morality consists in maintaining, enforcing, and fostering faithful obedience to the laws of right that should govern the social economy.

How is morality as thus viewed related to religion? Cannot a man in this sense be moral without being religious? Cannot the social order, the family and the state, maintain a pure morality on its own basis, without connecting it in any way with religion? Many hold this view. They may not ignore the importance of religion in its place, but they maintain that religion is a private interest between each man and God, and that it relates to a sphere of life here, and looking to one hereafter, that does not necessarily link itself to man's social relations and moral obligations as a citizen. Especially, they believe and hold that social morality, the morality of the state, has nothing to do with religion; and they construe the theory of the separation of Church and State that is supposed to prevail in this country as meaning this. Morality as referring to the individual's orderly life, and to the public order of society, is based on moral laws and principles that stand separate and apart from religion. The state has to do only with external justice and equity, and has no authority or call to inquire even into private morality, except as this has to do with good public order and temporal well-being, much less with the subject of

religion. There is a measure of truth in this general view which we would not undervalue. There is a certain relative independence of morality in relation to religion. There is a line which the authority of the state cannot cross without invading the rights of the individual even so far as private morality is concerned.

But while granting all this, we still maintain that both public and private, social and individual, morality, in the sense we are now considering it, cannot be maintained and reach its own proper end without religion.

What is the true source of regard for right and justice and truth, regard for moral law, upon which morality directly rests? To be a moral man, the individual must respect and reverence right and duty. He must obey the dictates of conscience. But moral law can inspire no reverence unless it is conceded to carry in it an authority that is higher than man. What is right? Whence its origin? Evidently law requires a lawgiver, and man must intuitively believe that moral law has its origin in and from God. *Is not conscience the voice of God in the human soul?*

But the moment it is granted that the moral law is from God, it follows that all proper regard for its authority must rest back, consciously or unconsciously, upon reverence towards God. But here we come at once into the sphere of religion. And we may repeat here now what has been said before, that if the foundations of the religious nature are undetermined, the foundations of morality will crumble with them. Let a man come to disbelieve in a personal God, a God who governs His creatures according to righteousness, to whom he is responsible, and with this disbelief will arise disregard also for the moral law. No motive can prove strong enough to promote and maintain steady obedience to moral law, except the motive that arises from the fear of the Lord, which is the beginning of wisdom, and the love of the Lord which is its consummation or end.

Public morality rests directly upon the authority of civil law,

but civil law must have a basis back of itself. It grows out of the idea of right, and the source of right is in God. Hence it follows that no government can maintain a pure moral order, even for those temporal and earthly ends and purposes for which the State more directly exists, without religion, any more than an individual can maintain a pure morality without religion; and therefore the highest interest that concerns the State is the interest of pure religion within its bounds. True religion is the source of the well-being of the State, the foundation of its highest prosperity.

This does not mean that the State is called to take charge of the interest of religion. God has provided other ways, especially another institution, the Church, to have special care and concern for the spread of true religion among men. He has provided it a code of revelation, the Bible, and appointed its ministers and its ordinances. But this interest of religion in the economy of grace, the Kingdom of God in the world, must have a place, and must constitute an *estate* in the nation, the *estate of religion*.

The true problem of Church and State is to determine in what best way the State can protect and foster this highest estate within its bosom. Owing to the supernatural origin of the true religion (which we assume is Christianity), and the direct appointments and provisions God has made for its maintenance, its supervision is not to be undertaken directly by the State. It must enjoy a certain independence of the State and be supreme within its own sphere. Inasmuch as it is a Kingdom *not of this world*, it need come into no conflict with civil and political rule in the State.

But the State nevertheless owes a high duty to religion, as that which preserves its own very foundations. Just as the State fosters and promotes the *estate* of Education, because it is a support to the State, so should it foster and protect the estate of religion. The State should grant certain immunities to the interest of religion. It should legalize its institutions, protect its meetings, and in every way favor its spread and progress.

We may, by the way, refer in this connection to the question of taxing Church property. The government has granted immunity to the Church in hitherto freeing it from taxation. Many now advocate taxing Church property, and many Church members favor this, on the ground that religion is not a public, but a private interest, at least the interest of a mere corporation. Any one can see, however, that this is a great mistake. Religion is an Estate in the Commonwealth; it is the primary support of the very foundations on which all human government rests. If institutions of learning which are not private or corporate business affairs, but designed only for the advancement of the general interest of education, having no individual pecuniary interest in view, should be free from taxation, how much more should Church property be thus free! In order to preserve a desired independence the Church might itself forego this right, and claim to pay taxes on its property, but it is certainly one of the least privileges the State *of right* ought to grant the Church to extend to it this fostering care. The government receives a thousand-fold benefit in return from the work of the Church in supporting those foundations on which all civic virtue rests. This, by the way. In these remarks we have allowed ourselves to take a broad view of Ethics, regarding it as the science that treats, not only of the relation of man as an individual to the moral law, but of the whole social economy. It is the province of Ethics to expound the principles that enter into the constitution of the family, the relation of husband and wife, parent and child, that enter into the constitution of the State, its origin, ideally and historically, its development, its estates, etc., etc. In short Ethics gives the principles that underlie social science generally.

We have not had in mind Ethics as a branch of theology. In that character it is a science for the theological seminary, its data is, immediately and directly revealed, given in the Bible, it treats of the moral life of regenerate man. But we have been considering philosophical Ethics, which forms a science distinct from religion or theology. It builds itself upon

data given in reason, in the moral nature of man, just as we treat psychology. In that view we claim a distinct sphere for morality, and for the science of Ethics. Some writers seem to strive to make Ethics Christian by introducing Christian topics, in a somewhat external and mechanical way, as must be the case, and putting in perhaps, a chapter of theology. Science is not Christianized in that way. It is rather by showing that its underlying postulates rest in Christianity, that it must find its completion in Christianity, is in want of and in accord with Christianity, that Ethics is Christian.

We have tried to show that Ethics as a science in philosophy, a science whose data must be taken from reason, is nevertheless closely related to the science of religion, just as the moral nature in man is related to the religious. This we prove without taking our authority from the Bible. The disciple of Herbert Spencer would have to accept it. We have shown that religion is the higher, and that the moral must receive its inspiration from that sphere. And then our conclusion comes, that all *true morality* must have its foundation in the Christian religion, the only absolute religion, claiming for itself supernatural origin and authority. In our discussion we have not undertaken at all to prove or establish this claim of Christianity. We have assumed it. Assuming that Christianity is the absolute religion for man, the religion that has been directly revealed by God, in and through His Son, Jesus Christ, we maintain that all true morality must find its foundation in this pure religion.

This religion is from heaven, and is pure and holy. It is not, indeed, purely and perfectly realized in those who profess it. We may distinguish between Christianity and Christians. In the best examples, saving its pure and immaculate founder, imperfection is intermingled in the lives of His followers. Hence we do not find even in the lives of Christians a pure and perfect morality. But the purest and best morality in the world is that which derives its inspiration from Jesus Christ and His pure and holy religion. It is only as man is enabled

to love and serve God truly and purely, that he can properly fulfill his duties to himself and his fellow-men. Thus we find that it is only in Christ that man can reach the proper completion of his being in all the varied relations of his life. If, therefore, we would seek to advance the best interests of man in any sphere, in his physical, intellectual, and moral, well-being, we must aim to support the Christian religion. Christianity is thus the leaven that is to leaven the whole life of humanity, the sphere in which the whole social economy, as well as the individual, is to reach its true character and completion.

The struggle to attain this end is ever going forward in the midst of terrible conflicts. The cause of unrest which we behold everywhere in the social order of man's life, the antagonism between labor and capital, the effort to bring political problems to right solution, to bring man's worldly life into a satisfactory condition generally, the cause of all this struggle and unrest, often threatening revolution, must be found in the fact that human life is not in right relation with God. While therefore all proper efforts to reform and improve these worldly relations are right and proper in their place, the ultimate cure for all the wrongs of mankind must be found in the religion of Christ. Social relations and social states will right themselves just in the degree in which the world's relation to God becomes righted.

It is easy to see from this, what a terrible leap in the dark it is to embrace Agnosticism in any of its different phases. To relegate our knowledge of God, or our ability to know Him, to the blank region of the unknown and unknowable, to say that we can rest only in the knowledge of the finite and natural, and to cast away revealed religion, this is to sunder the world from its moorings and send forth humanity upon a trackless sea of unrest. It is to destroy all human hope and to wreck all human happiness.

Christianity has, indeed, but partially actualized its mission in the world as yet, and many on this account despair of its ability to solve the problem of human life. But to do this is just as though one should despair of the State and seek to

overthrow all human government and go back to a state of anarchy, because state-craft and political science have to so large an extent failed to actualize the ideal of human government.

Christianity is the true hope of the world, the true life of man. What Augustine said of a man as an individual may be said of the world as well—mankind is in a state of unrest, and can come to rest only as it rests in God. And one greater than Augustine knew fully the true want of man and His ability to satisfy it when He said:—

“I am the light of *the world*, he that followeth me shall not walk in darkness, but shall have the light of life.” In Him alone the solution of man’s destiny can be found—Jesus Christ, the same yesterday, to-day, and forever.

ART. II.—OXFORD UNIVERSITY.

BY REV. JAMES CRAWFORD.

IN one of the most fertile districts of England, near where the rivers Cherwell and Isis mingle their waters, lies Oxford, a town of towers, turrets and spires—picturesque in appearance, venerable with age, and romantic in its history. It is an ancient and famous town, whose battlements, bastions and redoubts, now in ruins, remind us of a period when feudal lords entrenched themselves within strong castles. Here Alfred lived and held his court; King Canute assembled his Parliament, and William the Conqueror gathered an army to storm its walls.

But the richest memories of the place cluster around that ancient seat of learning which has survived the vicissitudes and changes of a thousand years. The Pyramids are cold and speechless when compared with this memorial of antiquity, which awakens in us the loftiest sentiments and touches us with its genial warmth. However imposing to the eye may be the

appearance of the venerable structures which constitute the University, its history, struggles and devotion to the cause of letters, compel us to stand in reverence before an institution which has done so much towards the enrichment of the present. In this seat of learning are embodied the culture and intellectual growth of the English people.

Though Oxford may not rank as the oldest University in Europe, there is not one which has so romantic a history,—not one which can boast of nobler achievements in the intellectual movement of the past thousand years. Her lustre is not dimmed in contrast with the oldest; her efficiency has not been inferior to the youngest of her sisters.

But whilst Oxford has much in common with other Universities, it stands alone in the peculiar character of its organization and history. There is nothing outside of England that corresponds to it or resembles it. The University has its basis in a society of teachers and scholars voluntarily formed for the study of all branches of knowledge. This society is made up of several families which are distinct from each other but not separate. Its organization and government have been moulded by its inner life, though of course affected to some extent by religious, political and social influences from without.

It is impossible to give any authentic account of the origin of the University. However far we go back, we are always referred to some date that is earlier. To some it seems preposterous to claim Alfred the Great as its founder. Yet there are others who as firmly maintain that he simply restored and enlarged a school which was renowned even before his time. The history of St. Frideswide carries us back to the eighth century, and we are told that in the reign of her father, Didan, King of Mercia, certain inns were constructed in the vicinity of St. Mary's Church which were used as places of education and grew into a religious house afterwards dedicated to St. Frideswide. This famous priory was the nucleus of the University. Within the castle of Oxford, founded by the Mercian kings, a church was built and served by secular canons. This was the

second foundation. The apartments in the castle formerly occupied by the canons were, after their removal, made over to certain poor scholars known as the Wardens and Scholars of St. George. This formed, perhaps, the earliest collegiate establishment of the University. Other halls and inns gradually clustered round these religious houses, until, toward the middle of the thirteenth century, they had reached the almost incredible number of three hundred, with an attendance of at least thirty thousand students.

In trying to account for such a large number of halls, we must remember that the scholastic community was not then, as now, altogether detached from the town. To a large extent they were clustered together, and formed a distinct community, but the accession of students became so great that it was impossible to accommodate them within the University bounds. It became necessary, therefore, to fall back on the resources of the town, and many buildings were rented from the townspeople. At that time students could combine at pleasure, not only to establish a hall, but they could also choose their own masters and teachers. Furthermore, any one having a license from the bishop to teach, could establish a boarding-school. Private enterprise and individual interest made it what it was. Although claiming so many halls, we find that they were not all the property of the University, and furthermore we are told that, for the most part, they were only frame structures thatched with straw.

The unusually large attendance of students at that time was owing to the remarkable intellectual activity which was produced by scholasticism. We may point with pride to the intellectual activity of the sixteenth century, with its culture and its far-reaching influence upon the religious and political history of Europe. We may boast of the practical tendencies and the scientific achievements of the nineteenth, but so far as mental activity is concerned, there is no period of Christian history to be compared with that which began with the twelfth century. The movement of mind in the sixteenth century was more prac-

tical in its character. It was allied to the Reformation, and was a powerful weapon in the hands of the Reformers for exposing the corruptions and correcting the errors of Romanism. If Germany had its Luther, who was the representative of the German spirit, England had its Erasmus, who was the representative of the new learning and made effective use of it in portraying the degeneracy of the Roman Church. For this reason, the Protestant world is connected with it in a more sympathetic way, and we are, therefore, disposed to make great account of it. But the activity of the twelfth century was in the direction of philosophical speculation in the sphere of Theology. It gave birth to Scholasticism, the aim of which was to interpret the Creed and to give to the contents of revelation a scientific form. It reached its highest expression in the speculations of Nominalism and Realism as maintained by Thomas Aquinas and Duns Scotus. Inasmuch as this system of philosophy laid hold of all the profound subjects included in Theology, it had great interest for the Church. The learned sought to fathom its transcendentalism and the ignorant quibbled with its hair-splitting and mystifying speculations. During this time the Scholastic philosophy was the all-absorbing study. An interest in it, and a desire to be skilled in it, swept over the Church like a fire over a prairie. Young men crowded the universities, not for the purpose of attaining a liberal education or for the purpose of studying law or medicine, but that they might become familiar with the subtleties of Scholasticism. So that when we look at Oxford, with its thirty thousand students, we find it to be almost exclusively engaged expounding Theology from the standpoint of scholastic philosophy.

As a result of this large gathering of students, Oxford was characterized by an uninterrupted din of warfare for nearly two centuries. Nation was arrayed against nation; school against school; faculty against faculty. There was very little that was irenical either in their modes of thought or manner of life.

In the first place, this lawlessness that characterized the institution was in keeping with the semi-barbaric spirit of the

age and the character of its students. The historian of Oxford, Wood, speaking of the students of those days, says: "Among them were a set of varlets who pretended to be scholars, shuffling themselves in and doing much villainy in the universities by thieving and quarreling. They lived under no discipline and had no tutors, but only for fashion's sake would sometimes thrust themselves into the school at ordinary lectures; and when they went to perform any mischief they would be accounted scholars, that so they might free themselves from the jurisdiction of the burghers."

Another cause of these disturbances may be traced to the presence of what were called the nations—two factions representing the habits of thought and peculiarities of Northern and Southern England. We may be prepared to appreciate to some extent the significance of these factional divisions from the presence and influence of the two in our own country. If, in this enlightened age, two sections of a free country could become so estranged as to precipitate a long and bloody war as the result of political differences, how much more aggravated and unreasonable might we expect the two sections of England to be in that age when divided upon religious, philosophical and political questions. The Northerners were characterized by the Germanic spirit of freedom; the Southerners by the Romanic spirit of obedience to authority. The one constituted the element of English life disposed toward the Reformation; the other that which always zealously opposed it. For two centuries there was constant friction frequently resulting in open battles and involving Oxford in a permanent state of warfare. Peace could only be secured by the exclusion of one of the rival parties. The conflict issued at last in the expulsion of the Northerners. Ever after that, Oxford was the defender of Romanism, and after the Reformation became the supporter of Episcopacy. It may be said, however, that the University has never been totally exempted from the old strife. Even at the present time we see it dividing the counsels of the institution itself and of the English people. The Southern party is in

power. It clings to the old order of things and despises change. It preserves the medieval spirit and methods. It has no sympathy with the progressive ideas of the present, and wishes to keep the institution fastened to its ancient moorings. But the cry of University Reform breaks in upon the peaceful cloistral calm. It is the utterance of the Northern spirit of freedom and progress. The demand is made, that the institution must place herself abreast of the progressive movements of this practical age. Thus far, the minority party has not been able to make itself sensibly felt in the government of the University. It is true that the questions which divide the two parties are different now from what they were in the twelfth century, but the same spirit is present, and the old strife, under a new form, will ever continue to divide the English people in the management of its great University.

The struggles between the Town and the Gown for superiority bring to light some very interesting and thrilling incidents in the history of the institution. The town of Oxford always shared the prosperity of the University. But in the course of time the town people manifested a disposition to make the most of the presence of the great institution in her midst. Rents were raised; food, beer and wine were adulterated. Moreover, there was but little disposition to maintain proper sanitary regulations. The University resented these impositions. It claimed the right to regulate rents, to appoint police to preserve order, market-masters to inspect the quality of food and drink, and supervisors to secure healthy, sanitary regulations. As a consequence, the townsmen felt humiliated, injured and oppressed. Demagogues stirred up the people to offer resistance. This led, in many instances, to riots, battles and bloodshed. In the last battle between the Town and the Gown, more than forty students were killed, churches, colleges and halls were stormed and pillaged. The final settlement of the strife was in favor of the University, to which the town was almost wholly subordinated.

The history of the University, up to the thirteenth century,

may be regarded as the democratic stage. Democratic, in that students were free to establish halls and to select their own masters or teachers. There was but little restriction upon the right to teach, and none at all in the admission of students. An institution of learning with three hundred halls, and thirty thousand students, most certainly presents an imposing appearance, and is calculated to make an impression of great strength and substantial prosperity. In many respects this was true of Oxford. But prosperity and efficiency are not always to be estimated by such a standard. It had long been felt by those in authority, that such a large attendance of students was not desirable. It could not be subjected to discipline. A remedy was found in the reduction of the number—in making more account of quality than of quantity. The plan adopted to secure this end was the abandonment of the halls and the substitution of the collegiate system. This was a radical measure, but it was gradually accomplished. Just as the halls arose gradually so also were the colleges established in like manner. The collegiate movement depended for its success upon the liberality of the friends of the new learning. The hall system depended upon its revenues received for tuition. The collegiate system was based upon an endowment. About fourteen colleges were established before the Reformation.

The collegiate system aimed to combine the discipline of the old monastic schools with the advantages of the University. It was an attempt to reassert the principle that education, when divorced from moral and religious training is one-sided and dangerous. The new system did away with the freedom that characterized the hall system. The colleges, being endowed, could be more independent, and were in a position to discriminate in the admission of its students. Inasmuch as all students were required to reside in the college buildings, only a limited number could be accommodated. It came to pass that only those were received who gave evidence of reflecting credit upon the institution. For this reason, admission into the University has always been attended with difficulty, and regarded as a great

privilege and honor. From this time forth the character of the institution became changed. The new system made discipline possible, and its efficiency became increased.

According to the Oxford idea a College is a house with a family, consisting of a Master, Fellows and scholars, supported by an endowment. As the English College is an institution so entirely different from ours, it may not be out of place to describe it:

Following the order of the definition we have, first:

The College Building.—Each College has its own building, for the accommodation of its students, a common room for the Fellows, a library and a chapel. There is great variety among them as to size and splendor. Nearly all of them, particularly the older ones have some remarkable specimens of the art of the Middle Ages to show. Each one has something in particular which distinguishes it from the rest, and of which it boasts. They are all furnished in harmony with the times in which they were built. Modern improvements and appliances are jealously ruled out. Their medieval character is preserved in almost everything pertaining to them. They are built in the form of a quadrangle and are entered by a gate.

The Master is the head of the College or family, and is responsible for its management. The Master and Fellows constitute the governing Board. In case of a vacancy the Master is chosen from the body of Fellows. The position is a very dignified and desirable one inasmuch as the Master exerts considerable influence as a member of the Board of Heads of the University.

The Fellows are the members of the College supported by its endowment. The living thus secured is worth from one hundred pounds upwards, with rooms and boarding free. The fellowships are lucrative and desirable positions. It is required of them that shall they be residents of the College and celibates. The intention of these foundations had in view the support of a class of persons who should devote themselves to the cause of learning and be prepared to teach in the University as the

occasion demanded. The only duties defined in the statutes for this class of persons is that they shall assist the Master and take a friendly interest in the younger members of the family. In the course of time this friendly interest led to the *Tutorial system*. It was felt that students needed direction not only in a moral way but also needed assistance in preparing for the University examinations. The Fellows were solicited to render this assistance. In order to accommodate the demand the Fellows were constituted the licensed tutors of the University. Of course it is optional with the Fellows and a private matter between them and the students. A student is at liberty to choose his own Tutor from this body, but he must belong to the same College. There are about five hundred Fellows connected with the several Colleges of the University and they constitute a distinguished and important class. They are the principal personages of the institution. In the language of another the Undergraduates are like children who may be seen but not heard.

The Scholars.—In the early history of the University any one could become a member of the institution. But the College idea not only fixed a limit as to the number but originally received only poor scholars, called foundationers. In the course of time, however, independent scholars began to be received. At present this class of students is largely in the majority. Every student is required to place himself under the care of a College Tutor, who directs his studies and prepares him for the University examinations. He receives no instruction in the College apart from the private personal tuition of his tutor. As a Collegian he is simply a member of a family. The Colleges have no faculties, no courses of study, no recitations. The University alone attends to the instruction of its students in what we would call classes. There are several faculties of the Arts of Medicine, Law, Theology and the Natural Sciences. The students, say of Merton College, may be divided among these several faculties, though all are required to take a full course in the arts. This is a necessity. Attendance

upon the others is elective and optional. The University alone has a curriculum; it conducts all examinations and confers all degrees. Instruction is entirely by lecture. No questions are asked by the Professor; none are allowed to be asked by the students.

Every College is a complete and separate entity; yet there is running through them all one connecting bond of unity—one general system of discipline—one fundamental idea. The organization of the University may be compared to that of the United States Government. There is one central government to which all are subject, with reserved powers, while each College has its special prerogatives with regard to which its power is absolute. Each College has its own buildings, students, libraries and laws. There is the same rivalry among them as with us, and yet they all feel that they belong to one body.

Admission into the University is secured only after a rigid examination. If the applicant passes this examination satisfactorily he is permitted to enter any of the Colleges which may be willing to receive him. He secures a suite of rooms for his use. This consists of two or three good sized chambers which are cared for by persons appointed to that work. The students have breakfast and luncheon served in their rooms, which are for the most part provided at their own expense. The work of the day is divided between private study, attendance upon a couple of lectures, recitations with the College Tutor and outdoor exercise. At the hour for dinner the Master, Fellows and Scholars, clad in their gowns, assemble in a great hall adorned with paintings, carvings, statues, armorial shields and hung with portraits of founders, benefactors, kings, queens, statesmen and soldiers. At one end of the great hall is placed the table of the Master and the Fellows, and at right angles with it are long oaken tables, black with age, and benches without backs, for the undergraduates. Grace is either chanted or spoken in Latin. The meal is generally a substantial one. Wine is placed upon the Master's table and each student is provided with a mug of ale. In one of the Colleges the foun-

der, wishing to make its students strong and vigorous men, ordained that mutton should be served every day for dinner. So for hundreds of years it has been regularly supplied. After dinner the undergraduates are dismissed and the Fellows retire to the Combination room where they spend an hour or more over their wine, ale or fruit and hold delightful intercourse. This room is a great centre of interest and tradition. At 10 o'clock the bell of the University rings and every student is required to be within the enclosure. All late comers are reported.

The length of the Academic year is twenty-six weeks. During the year there are three examinations called respectively "Little Go," the "Middle Go," and the "Great Go." Twelve terms of residence are required for the degree of A. B. The degree of A. M. is obtainable in the twenty-seventh term after matriculation. Nominal residence is required of applicants for the Master's degree. This requirement is satisfied by the applicant appearing two or three times a year at the dinner table. This is called, in Oxford parlance, "eating for a degree."

There is a custom connected with the graduation exercises that strikes the American student as very peculiar. Just before the degree is conferred it is publicly announced that the student — has finished his course of study, has passed the examinations, and that the University is ready to confer upon him the degree of A. B., provided there be no objection made by any one present. Then one of the Proctors, clad in his official robes, and wearing a scarf, walks through the aisles of the great hall in which the exercises are conducted. Now if any one should happen to "pull the scarf" that is a sign that objection is made. He hears the complaint, perhaps, that the student owes the objector some money or something of the kind, and then reports that objection is made and that cuts off the graduation of that individual. There have been instances in which students have forfeited the right of graduation, though they are rare.

Returning now to the discussion of the Collegiate system, we

must consider the causes that stimulated the establishment of Colleges, most of which were founded before the Reformation.

According to a preceding reference we find that the twelfth century was characterized by remarkable mental activity. Scholastic philosophy moulded the thinking of the University and gave it in one sense the greatest prosperity ever attained. In the sixteenth century we are confronted with another remarkable intellectual movement—the revival of classical learning. Up to this time Scholasticism reigned supreme, but it had resolved itself into meaningless subtleties. The new learning first appeared in Italy. In Rome the leading intellects accepted it as a new revelation. The subtleties of Scholasticism were forgotten and the classics took the precedence of the Scriptures, the writings of the Fathers and of the Saints. As Italy was nearest the root of the old culture it became more thoroughly influenced by it. It revived Pagan and excluded Christian ideas. Christianity fell into low repute. The writings of the Fathers gradually disappeared from the schools. Society was redolent of heathenism. Scepticism was common among the learned. But the Renaissance in England took a different turn. The difference arose from geographical location and the nature of the people. Italy was in the south; England in the north. The one near the fountain of classic literature; the other far removed from it. The one enthusiastic, emotional, sensual; the other reflective, moral, religious. The one in a high state of culture; the other comparatively rude.

The influence of the new learning in England was at least two-fold. The study of Greek opened up to minds like Colet, Erasmus and others, the Epistles of St. Paul. These earnest men studied the writings of the great Apostle, caught his spirit, and expounded his teachings. They saw the wide spread corruption in the church and her bondage to error. Whilst Luther was arousing Germany Colet and Erasmus were preparing England for her Reformation. Instead, then, of Paganizing England, as it did Italy, the new learning tended

to create a proper conception of Christianity and brought into prominence the doctrine of the Apostle Paul. Thus it became the most powerful ally of the English Reformation. In the second place it stimulated a profound interest in education. It led to the founding of Colleges and the establishment of Grammar Schools. During this revival more schools were founded than had been for three hundred years before. This revival of classical learning was not produced by the influence of the University. That institution was wedded to Scholasticism and looked with displeasure upon the classics. The interest came from without and laid hold of the University. At first there was but little receptivity for it and no disposition to give up the old for the new. But the new learning found its way gradually among the learned. The circle of admirers widened. Finally in the reign of Henry VIII. Scholasticism was cast out and the Classics reigned supreme. The history of the University since that time has not been marked by any unusual changes. Oxford, to a great extent is an exception to that familiar saying, "Times change and we change with them."

Time will not permit to refer to the many vicissitudes of the University wrought either by the Reformation or by political influences. Oxford has always been regarded as a political power in the State, and kings, queens, and statesmen have not hesitated to make use of it to further their ambition. It is indeed a matter of surprise that it has passed through so many struggles and retained its usefulness.

In reviewing the history of Oxford University we find that in the earlier period Scholasticism subordinated every other branch of study. Whatever reputation it may have had in that time is derived from a devotion to the speculations of the Scholastic philosophy. So again in the later period whatever renown it has attained comes from an interest in classical studies. As a University it pretends to give instruction in Medicine, Law, Theology, and the arts. But the fact is that all these sciences are subordinated to an interest in furthering the study of Latin

and Greek. Some thirty years ago there was a movement in Parliament to bring about certain reforms so as to bring the institution into sympathy with the practical tendencies of the present age, but for the most part these efforts have failed. It is true that the Natural Sciences have been honored so as to rank with the classics but little has been accomplished by the reform, and it is more than likely that the physical sciences will never be studied with much profit until the character of the institution is changed. Just as the facilities are lacking in the courses of Law, Medicine and Theology and students go elsewhere for professional training, so the same may be said in regard to the facilities for the study of the Natural Sciences. The principle upon which the curriculum in the arts is based excludes all hope of efficiency in this direction. Students wishing what is called a practical education must go to technical schools for instruction.

Even in the direction of classical studies there are adverse criticisms as to the method pursued. The interest in the Classics is simply an interest in the languages of antiquity. It is philological almost entirely. By that we mean that they study the structure of the languages and make too much account of its grammatical elements. There is but little effort to apprehend by means of it the wonderful spirit of antiquity. The study of a language has worth just in proportion as it enables us to apprehend the spirit of the people who spoke it and derive inspiration from it, unless we wish to make use of it for practical purposes. This much, however, is certain, that if a student wishes to get a thorough knowledge of the Latin and Greek languages Oxford is the place to get the drill. But whether its students are brought into communion with the spirit of antiquity and are ennobled by it we do not pretend to say. Matthew Arnold, who has made a study of German and English Universities, takes exception to the methods of teaching the ancient languages at Oxford.

The greatest glory of England springs from her relations with the past. The Aristocracy is the strongest support of English

royalty. It too is rooted in the past. So Oxford is a pillar of royalty in that it preserves and fosters a reverence for antiquity. The logical conclusion is that when Oxford University becomes modernized then the strongest prop will be taken away from the Aristocracy, and when the Aristocracy falls by reason of the dissemination of democratic ideas and prejudices against the past, then comes the Republic.

There is no doubt that Oxford is a powerful factor in moulding the thinking of the English people. To this fountain of learning come the brightest and best of England's sons. Here are gathered young men who are to take the leading places in Church and State. Here are trained the leaders of the English people. All its teachings and influences tend to produce as the result of its training, *English gentlemen*, inspired with a profound reverence for royalty and the English Church.

In conclusion we say that if the idea of a *University*—an institution that gives instruction in the several sciences—cannot be realized at Oxford we do not think that it can be realized successfully anywhere. That it is not realized there is not a disputed question. Nominally it may be but not at all satisfactorily.

If we judge its efficiency with regard to the work of instruction we must acknowledge that the work done by the institution in the way of lectures is very unsatisfactory and inefficient. The work done in the University by its authorized lectures is inadequate. Whatever thoroughness is acquired must be put to the credit of the tutors. Their work is certainly well done, and to them should be awarded praise.

ART. III.—THE CHRISTMAS SEASON.

BY REV. M. KIEFFER, D. D.

First Sunday in Advent.

The Gospel for the day, St. Matt. xxi. 8—11. "And a very great multitude spread their garments in the way; and others cut down branches from the trees, and strewed them in the way. And the multitude that went before, and that followed, cried, saying, Hosanna to the Son of David: Blessed is he that cometh in the name of the Lord: Hosanna in the highest. And when he was come into Jerusalem, all the city was moved, saying, Who is this? And the multitude said, This is Jesus the prophet of Nazareth of Galilee."

WHEN our Blessed Lord had well nigh finished the work which the Father had given Him to do in the state of His humiliation, and when He was about to take His departure from His beloved disciples, He promised to send them the Holy Spirit, the Comforter, who would lead them into all truth. This precious promise has been fulfilled in every period of the church's history. But it seems to us, the early Christians were specially guided by the Holy Ghost in the selection of the most appropriate Gospels and Epistles for the successive days and festivals of the church year. It has been thought by some that the Scriptures selected to guide our devotions during the Christmas, or Advent season, are irrelevant, because they look more to our Lord's final coming to judge the quick and the dead than to His birth into the world. But just in this is manifest, we think, the peculiar wisdom of the selection. We cannot be properly grateful for any birth till we come to know the history and the value of the life. If we would celebrate aright the birth-day of Washington, we must know the great value of his life and the inestimable blessings it secured to the country. We cannot properly celebrate the birth-day of our national independence unless we know the value of the civil and religious freedom which has been bequeathed to us as a nation. We cannot cele-

brate rightly the birth-day of creation unless we know the blessings which time brings with it in its onward flow to the ocean of eternity. Our own birth-days are meaningless for us, unless we know our personal life in its development and in its final destiny. Thus to celebrate with proper spirit the Advent of our Lord, we not only must be able to apprehend the wonder of Bethlehem, but we must know also the development of His life in the body of humanity from its infant beginning to its final consummation of bliss and glory in the heavenly world. Like the inspired prophets and apostles, and the primitive church too to a great extent, we must see the end in the beginning. They viewed the Advent as a continuous movement from first to last, and thus as one grand event for time and eternity. May the Lord help us to enter into their spirit, and to realize that He has come, and will come, in and for us.

Our Gospel is the inspired record of an ancient prophecy fulfilled, and at the same time a prediction of a vastly more glorious fulfillment in the end.

I. The prediction referred to is both retrospective and prospective. It is one of the utterances of the Prophet Zechariah, who lived about five hundred and twenty years before Christ. Occupying, as he did, an elevated and central standpoint in Sacred History, with its divine and human factors, having a deep sense of its solemn significance, its revelations, its promises and warnings, its wonders of power and of wisdom, its captivities and deliverances, its sacrifices and festivals, its altars and religious observances, he has a clear and distinct view also of the future. The shadow looks to the substance, the type to the antitype. He introduces the Messiah first as a warrior, who breaks the power of Tyrus upon the sea, and that of Philistia upon the dry land, who overcomes the power of darkness by successive victories, till at length He conquers a peace. And now He comes as the Prince of Peace to take His seat upon the throne of David. Hence the triumphant and joyous exclamation: "Rejoice greatly, O daughter of Zion; shout, O daughter of Jerusalem: Behold thy king cometh unto

thee: He is just and having salvation, lowly, riding upon an ass, and (even) a colt, the foal of an ass. And I will cut off the chariot from Ephraim, and the horse from Jerusalem; and the battle bow shall be cut off; and he shall speak peace unto the heathen; and his dominion shall be from sea to sea; and from the river even unto the end of the earth. For he is great in goodness and in beauty."—Zech. ix.

Of this glowing prediction our Gospel is said to be a fulfillment; not a final accomplishment of course, for that is not yet; but a fulfillment up to the time when Christ enters the historic Jerusalem, the type of the ideal city of peace, there for the last time on earth to celebrate the grand festival of the passover, which is again a type and symbol of His wonderful union and communion with the saints.

Solemn and impressive, indeed, under this view, is the scene that is now passing before us, and the grand realities which challenge our faith. What do we really see? What do we hear? And what is the significance for us of that which we both see and hear?

We realize that we are in the holy land, near the city of Jerusalem, which has been beautifully said (by Dr. Lange) "to be in every respect the mysterious and wonderful flower of history; in its situation, in its history, in its religious position, and especially in its symbolical character." Here are the sacred hills within and around it in full view; the hills Moriah, Bezetha, and Akra; and in the centre Mt. Zion, most beautiful for situation. After this sacred mountain the city itself, and the true church are named. Hence the sentences: "daughter of Zion," and "daughter of Jerusalem," are in apposition, the one explanatory of the other. The mount of Olives is in view, called sometimes the mountain of the Spirit, because its olive trees produce the oil of sacred anointing. Bethpage, (the house of figs) is near, which furnished, not the war horse, but the animals of peace for the use of the Prince of Peace. There too is Bethany quite near, the home of Mary and Martha, and Lazarus, whom Jesus had raised from the dead.

Now comes to view a long festive procession, which we are told came from Jericho to the neighborhood of the Mt. of Olives, and halted there on account of the Sabbath day. On Monday the throng is greatly increased by friends and adherents of Jesus from the city, and many more who wanted to see Lazarus, the living monument of the resurrection power. Garments are placed upon the beasts to sit upon, both garments and the branches of trees are strewn in the way. All is commotion and stir, yet there is no confusion. The great pilgrim train moves forward. The Just, the Meek and Lowly One is in the midst, riding the untamed foal of the ass, (according to the best authority), whilst the trained mother accompanies it steadily at its side. All eyes were turned to Him whom Patriarchs and Prophets longed to see, yet died without the sight: to Him whom Simeon saw, and was glad; to Him who is the Desire of all nations, and Hope of Israel. One great thought occupies every mind, one idea controls every will, and every step—but one desire moves every heart and every eye: the promised king who hath salvation, and His promised kingdom have come and are coming. Jerusalem is the goal; the city of peace is for the Prince of Peace. The real is complete only in union with its ideal. Therefore, "Lift up your heads, O, ye gates, and be ye lifted up ye everlasting doors, and the king of glory shall come in." He enters, and "the whole city is moved."

What voices do we hear? We have heard the voice of prophecy. When Christ was born we heard the voices of the angels sing: "Glory to God in the highest, on earth peace, good will to men." When He was baptized of John in the river Jordan, we see the Spirit descending upon Him like a dove, and we hear a voice from heaven say: "This is my Beloved Son in whom I am well pleased." We hear the same repeated on the mount of transfiguration. Often we hear the confession: "Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God." We hear the prayer addressed to Him: "Thou Son of David, have mercy on me." Now we hear the distinct echo of these heavenly voices from the long Galilean pilgrim train following after, and the multi-

tudes going before Him: "Hosanna to the Son of David: Hosanna in the highest:" a Messianic greeting in the form of humble prayer. "May Hosanna be confirmed in heaven." "May it be given in heaven." "May it be cried by the angels in heaven." "Help Lord," or most likely the glad cry is antiphonal between the multitudes going before and those in the rear, according to (Ps. 118: 25, 26), "Save now, I beseech thee, O Lord." (Response): "O, Lord, I beseech thee, send now prosperity." "Blessed be he that cometh in the name of the Lord." Ans. "We have blessed you out of the house of the Lord." We hear a voice from the moved city itself, after He had entered it, saying who is this, and the multitude answered; this is the prophet Jesus of Nazareth of Galilee.

But what means all this which we have seen and heard? What for the intellect? What for the heart and life? The ass and the colt, we notice, were brought to the Lord for His use in immediate obedience to His command. And who can fail to see in this that all creatures, rational and irrational, are subject to His control? The tamed and untamed alike obey His will. No creature can thwart the wise and holy design of His doings. Nor is the symbolical meaning of the selection of just these animals less obvious than the literal. All things in Scripture are double, having an outward, and an inward, or spiritual sense. So Jerome and other Church fathers interpreted, not fearing the charge of a too great fondness for allegorizing. It will be remembered that according to our prophecy the heathen are to be included in Messiah's peaceful reign. So the riding of the untamed colt may be viewed as a fit emblem of His bringing the hitherto unrestrained Gentile nations under His peaceful sway, whilst the trained and disciplined mother, the Jewish nation, for a time, goes along steadily, side by side.

But time fails us to unfold the special meaning of each incident and word. We leave these, such as the strewing of the garments and palm branches in the way by the multitudes, as emblems of royalty and peace, to impress their meanings upon

the mind through their own inspired Hosannas; and proceed to turn our attention to the comprehensive fact, brought to view by the fulfilment of the prophecy, that Christ's coming, and consequently the coming of His Church and kingdom, are HISTORICAL. By history we are not to understand merely the narration, whether oral or written; that is only the subjective apprehension of it. By history we mean the continuous development of human life itself, in the race, in the nation, the family, and individual. It has its two factors every where; the divine and human. Where the human prevails, as among the heathen, it is called PROFANE. But where the divine element predominates, as in the Jewish theocracy, it is sacred. Here God is pre-eminently present in the land, in the nation, in the institutions of religion, especially in the city and temple. He is present with the anointed prophets, priests, and kings; present with all His people in covenant with Him. Consequently the entire national development from first to last is sacredly prophetic. One event succeeds the other, according to the law of certain causation. The previous time is always a sure word of prophecy for the future; as the rising of the sun foretells the going down of the same; and as the day foretells the night, and the night the day.

The present time, with its solemn realities, was in the past, and is from the past. Hence the meaning of the word, "*event*," that which has come out of something previously existing. To such historical relation Christ has reference when He says: "Salvation is of the Jews." It could come from no other national life. No other could produce a David, and "The Son of David." No other could flower in a virginity that could be overshadowed by the Holy Ghost, and give birth to Him who is very God and very man. In this birth, and in this wondrous life is actualized the full meaning of all the sacred history of the past. *He is its fulfilment*, as He hath said: "I have not come to destroy the law, but to fulfill." How deep and solemn, therefore, the import of the saying: "That the Scriptures might be fulfilled, that it might be fulfilled that was said by

the Prophet." Thus we have in the grandly vivid scene now before us, in the present fulfillment of prophecy, that full tidal wave of the entire sacred past, with all its forces and powers. O, how important to revere the past, and to learn the lessons of the present in its light. But the stream of history does not flow backward; onward wends its way to the shoreless and fathomless ocean of eternity.

II. Our prophecy fulfilled is in turn a sure prophecy of a vastly more glorious fulfillment in the future.

But how different are God's ways from our ways, and His thoughts from our thoughts. How different the triumphal entry of our Lord, in its nature and results, into Jerusalem from what men generally supposed, and from what might reasonably be anticipated. Who would think that this "mysterious and beautiful historic flower" is to be watered with the divine-human tears of lamentation, and not with the refreshing dew-drops of heaven? May we not expect the daughters of Zion now to shout greatly indeed, and the inhabitants of the city to be glad? Their King has come! May we not look for a new swelling life of His kingdom? May we not expect a deliverance from Roman bonds, and a royal power that will extend its sceptre over all the nations of the earth? Why not? The Son of David is legal heir to the throne, and He has power to deliver to the uttermost," and even to call the dead to life. But "He was in the world, even the world made by him, and the world knew him not. He came unto his own, and his own received him not. But as many as received him, to them gave he power to become the sons of God, even to them that believe on his name: who were born, not of blood, nor of the will of the flesh, but of God." That explains it. "The kingdom of heaven comes not by observation"; but in the way of real inward power. The King of Zion has not come to an outward coronation, but to Calvary to be crucified. "By the wicked hands" of His own countrymen He is crucified and slain. Albeit, if He had willed it otherwise, they would have had no power against Him. He chose the cross, and death;

but His death is His real life, and the life of His kingdom, and the cross is both His sceptre and His crown. So when He was asked, "Art thou a king then"? He answered truly: "Thou sayest it." He is judged and put to death; but that judgment is the actual death of the Jewish nation. The heavens and the earth of the old dispensation must now pass away and give place to a new heaven and a new earth wherein dwelleth righteousness. The historic Jerusalem flower fades and dies, yea, rather, is destroyed, that the new rose of Sharon may live and grow in its stead; or, to speak without a figure, that the New Jerusalem from above, the ideal Church, might become real on earth, amongst men and for us men, in living union with its ever-living Head. This is the kingdom that is not of this world (though in it) whose King "gives peace to the heathen, and will extend His dominion from sea to sea, and from river to river, even unto the ends of the earth." The old dispensation is passed thus, but its germinal life is swelling with new vigor and beauty in the new dispensation of the Spirit. The ancient flower lives only in memory; but the new Jerusalem Church, "the mysterious historic flower" for all nations and people, lives and blooms with ever increasing loveliness and beauty. The ancient temple, with its sacredness and grandeur, was razed to the ground, but the temple of the Saviour's body of which it was the type, though destroyed, was raised up on the third day, all radiant within and without with divine-human glory. This new city of peace, with this new temple in its centre, is now the goal toward which pious pilgrims from the east and west, north and south, wend their way. The promised King is in their midst to animate their hopes, to direct their steps, to inspire their hosannas, whilst at the same time He is in the city as the joy of its inhabitants, and in the temple as the delight of its worshippers.

This presupposes an intermediate advent between His birth and His final coming to *judge* the world in righteousness. Accordingly it has been said, there are three Advents: The first, when the Son of God assumed the form of a servant, when

conceived of the Holy Ghost, He was born of the Virgin Mary. The second, when He returned to His disciples in His theanthropic glory in the form of the Spirit on the day of Pentecost. And finally, when He shall come with His angels in the clouds of heaven to separate forever the righteous and the wicked. One of our gifted writers of the present day, whose thoughts are governed by this division, has composed a beautiful song which it affords us pleasure to repeat, as it serves to illustrate our idea :

The Eternal Word came down from heaven,
 Wrapped in our human clay ;
 Beneath His voice the tombs were riven
 And searched with blaze of day.
 He comes again—the Spirit's power,
 On soft and dove-like wing ;
 I breathe in this, Thy advent hour,
 The balmiest breath of spring !
 And when Thy voice, with thunders loud,
 Brings on the judgment day,
 And through this intervening cloud
 Doth cleave Thy shining way,
 Let Thy white robe of righteousness
 Our trusting souls adorn,
 And be the shinations of Thy face
 The eternal Christmas morn !

[SEARS.]

Yes, "Three Advents"; but how beautifully the three ideas interpret each other, and flow together into one. Outwardly and historically real, the whole advent procession from beginning to end is by and in the Spirit. By the Holy Ghost He, who was made flesh, was conceived. By the Spirit and in it He lived. By the Spirit He was anointed as the Absolute Prophet, Priest and King. By the Spirit He was led into the wilderness to be tempted, and came off triumphantly in that most fearful struggle with the infernal powers. By the Spirit He taught as never man taught, and did His many wonderful works. In and by this *He is*, and makes, the atonement. The Spirit is the resurrection power, actualized for our justification, and also the ascension power, actualized for our sanctifi-

cation. "*The Lord is that Spirit.*" So that the Pentecostal wonder is indeed the second Advent, but strictly in the sense that it is the historic repetition of the first. The first is the coming of the Divine into the human, in the mysterious way of birth: the Son of God becomes the Son of man. Pentecost repeats this wonder in this, that it is the birth-day of the Church, or of the new creation in Christ Jesus. Christ has a real individual body; but as the generic Head of humanity, He must needs also have a mystical body; "the church which is the fullness of Him that filleth all in all." The new King is necessarily born to a new kingdom, whose powers actualize the royalty potentially in Him from the beginning. The coming now of this kingdom amongst men is *His* coming. This we say is continuous. So that, as the borders of Zion are enlarged, her cords lengthened and her stakes strengthened; as the roots of the New Jerusalem flower strike deeper and deeper into the soil of human nature, and as its inward swelling life unfolds its loveliness and beauty, in that same measure does the Lord reveal His regal power and unfold the loveliness and beauty of His person. His coming, then, we repeat, is the real historical coming of His kingdom. Yes; He is in the Church; He is with His people alway, as He promised. Yet He is coming more and more. Just as in the family, when the children grow up in the moral likeness of the parents and imitate their virtues, they come nearer and nearer to each other in sympathy and affection; so Jerusalem and her daughters, (the church and her members) as they become assimilated to the character of God—are the Lord's delight, and He is drawn nearer and nearer to them by the cords of mutual love.

Thus His entrance into Jerusalem has its significance for all time, which will come to its final accomplishment in the heavenly world when time shall be no more.

It is known that the ancient Jerusalem was divided into two great divisions, called upper and lower Jerusalem, extending far into the distance on the higher and lower planes—united,

however, as one city by Mount Zion in the midst. So with its antitype, the New Jerusalem. It is from above, extending far into space on the lower plane of earthly existence; but it is also above, extending as far on the upper plane of celestial being as the measure of its ideal demands; yet the two are one city. The saints on earth and in heaven are one communion.

Now, when the Church on earth shall have reached its ideal; or to speak more intelligibly, when the Church militant shall have become triumphant; when Christ's mystical body shall have become finally glorified by His resurrection power, as is His individual body; when in the end, He shall bring with Him those who sleep in Him, all the pious dead, as well as the generation of believers then living, and with this entire pilgrim train shall enter in final triumph the upper Jerusalem, there to live and reign forever: then our prophecy shall have come to its final fulfillment.

Such triumph implies, of course, the overthrow of all opposing powers. It is the destruction of the kingdom of Satan, the vanquishing of the foe, the defeat of the enemy. It is the unjust sentence of our Lord to death by His enemies reversed. There the Righteous One was condemned. Here the Holy Ghost and the Righteous One condemns "all unrighteousness and ungodliness of men," in the irrevocable sentence, "Depart ye cursed into everlasting fire prepared for the devil and his angels." Righteous judgment, and its righteous revelation!

Let us then again, before the curtain falls, look upon the vivid scene that is passing before us—the *Advent scene*. Let us endeavor to apprehend its solemn import as related to the future as well as to the past. We are interested in it; its lessons are for us. It will be for us either an overwhelming judgment to final condemnation, or our eternal glorification with Christ at God's right hand. Are we really willing to open the doors of our church that the King of Glory may come in and rule among us? Are we willing to receive Him into our house, our families, and have Him as the chief guest at our tables? Are we ready to open the doors of our hearts that He may

come in unto us and sup with us, and we with Him? Only by having Him first to come in unto us can we be disposed and ready to go with Him. But why need we thus speak? Are we not indeed His disciples? Yes, we know who He is; the Christ, the Son of God, the Son of David, the King of Zion, the Desire of all nations, the Prince of Peace, who hath salvation for all who believe in Him. We see His blessed reign and the inestimable blessings attending it. We know that the garments strewn in His way mean His divine royalty, and the palm-branches peace and victory forever. That pilgrim train is the long line of the saints of all ages moving forward and upward, (with Jesus in the midst) to the heavenly Jerusalem, to celebrate the true passover with Him in the presence of the Father and all the holy angels. Whilst the multitude that has gone before is singing as the angels sing, "Worthy is the Lamb that was slain," and "Glory to God in the highest," may those that are following after, we in the number, heartily respond, "and join in the glad cry: Hosanna to the Son of David! Blessed is He that cometh in the name of the Lord." Amen.

ART. IV.—ACCOUNTABILITY FOR BELIEF.

BY REV. DR. C. R. LANE.

ONE of the ways in which transgressors of the Divine law endeavor to allay their fears, is denying that they are accountable for what they believe. They admit that they ought to be sincere, and persistently affirm that their conduct is the sincere expression of their principles; and, therefore, they conclude that they are in some sort excusable for what they do.

The inquiry, therefore, Are men accountable for their belief? is not a matter of barren speculation, but of great practical importance. It is a point that will demand attention as long as human nature remains what it is.

Men are accountable for what they believe,

I. Because they are intelligent beings.

For the reason that man is intelligent, he is held accountable for the use he makes of his judgment in regard to all matters not of a moral nature.

The old astronomers assumed as a truth not to be doubted, that the heavenly bodies move in circles, and they bent all their energies to deduce the observed phenomena of the heavens from the assumed theory. But the more the heavens were studied, the greater was the confusion; until the order of the universe became in their minds so confused, that escape was hopeless. The penalty for their mistake was such perplexity as has seldom oppressed the human mind.

A man may have the most sincere regard for his health, and take the greatest pains for its preservation or recovery; and yet, if the course adopted is at variance with the nature of the human body with respect to its vigor, disease and death will ensue just as certainly and just as soon as if the intention were not to preserve life but to destroy it.

Arsenic is poison, whoever thinks it food; bread is food,

whoever decries its nourishing properties. Whoever does not believe the one proposition or the other, and acts accordingly, will find that his sincerity in belief is not impunity from the consequences of his conduct.

Another form of the same principle is found in the formation of habits.

The young are very confident that they can walk in evil ways and not form evil habits. But their confidence does not change the result. By repeated acts the habit is formed, as certainly and as rapidly without the intention as with it. By no effort of will, by no sincerity of opinion, *can a man take fire into his bosom and his clothes not be burned*. Our belief must be true in fact as well as sincerely adopted, for in each case, equally, a penalty follows a failure.

Now, these things being so, what good reason can be given why men should not be held to an account equally strict for the use they make of their faculties in regard to what is good and evil, right and wrong?

1st. It is not in the nature of conscience that the reason can be found, for the conscience is a part of human nature in the same sense in which reason is. In the one case and in the other, it is the same intelligent, perceiving, reasoning being, whether in the contemplation of matters of fact as such, or in regard to their moral properties.

Man, therefore, because he is intelligent, because he can discriminate between what is true in morals and what is false; between what is right in principle and in practice, and what is wrong, ought to discriminate and is accountable if he does not discriminate in regard to all subjects indifferently, as true in point of fact or false, as good or evil—all, without distinction, that are within the sphere of his faculties.

2d. The reason is not found in the fact that good and evil are of a lower order than truth and error.

The man who exposes an error that has enthralled his fellows, or discovers a truth that has eluded the research of other men is, indeed, a benefactor; and yet he may be the object of

mere respect, and not at all the object of love. Indeed, the very greatest intellectual powers may and often do exist simply as a curse to their possessor and an injury to all around him. But it is not so with regard to goodness. For goodness, so far as it exists, is always elevating; it is always a blessing both to him who has it and to all connected with him. The good man is higher in the scale of being than the great man. Our Lord, in praying for His murderers, was a more sublime spectacle than in rebuking the winds and the sea.

3. There is nothing in the tendencies of good and evil, as compared with mere truth or error; or in the influence each exerts on human welfare, that should release men from their accountability.

Error, it is true, has slain its thousands; but sin has slain its tens of thousands. The discoveries in Science and the inventions in Art have indeed diminished human labor and toil; but these are not *the small dust of the balance*, compared with the peace and security of families, neighborhoods, and nations, arising from mere faith in tried goodness.

Those matters, therefore, that pertain universally to human nature, which are the best or the worst in themselves,—and, therefore, also the best or the worst in their influence on human interests,—are just the matters as to which there ought to be the highest possible accountability.

Men, therefore, because they are intelligent beings—because they are endowed with faculties to discern good from evil and truth from error—are accountable for the use of those faculties in each direction equally. The obligation in kind is the same in each case, being founded on the nature of man; but in degree, it preponderates greatly in favor of good and evil as more important in nature and influence than truth and error, viewed apart from their moral properties.

II. Truth and error, right and wrong, the proper and the most important objects of concern and reflection, are not merely in the view the mind takes of them, but also in the nature and relation of things, which are independent of the light in which

they are viewed. For, if not, then the whole obligation to truth is action in accordance with the view taken of it. For the view taken of truth is truth, in each particular case; and, then, all the care and patience which inquirers after truth have exercised, are mere waste, and the honor in which such have always been held by the great majority of men, is a mistake. For, if truth and right do not exist independent of our perceptions, they have no claim upon our loyalty, as matters to be inquired into.

This is a view upon which men do not act in regard to their temporal interest. In matters of business, truth and error are different. Correct principles and incorrect bring forth their proper fruit, success or disaster, with unfailing certainty.

But if mere sincerity is insufficient as a means of food and raiment, it is also a foundation too insecure to be trusted with the weight of our immortal interests. For, if truth is better than error in regard to this world, then with regard to the world to come, also, truth is better than error, however sincerely the error is believed. For if it is not, then the parent, for example, who thinks that the acquisition of learning is a waste of time and of money, is justifiable in permitting his children to grow up in ignorance. A child's claim, therefore, to culture, is not that he is an immortal being, endowed with faculties that will develop themselves in some way, and therefore ought to be directed in the right way; but his claim is simply a prudential matter pertaining to this life and determined by it, both as to its nature and its extent.

According to this view, the mind is subordinate to the body; spiritual interests, to material; things unseen and eternal, to those that are temporal; the chief end of man cannot be "to glorify God and enjoy Him forever," but to answer the questions: What shall we eat, What shall we drink, Wherewithal shall we be clothed, and, having all that we need, and more than we can use, to answer the question transcending in importance all others: How shall we accumulate more!

Now, the man who does not feel that this view is low, sensual,

sinful, cannot be reasoned with, and it is not necessary that he be reasoned with. For whichever view is adopted, the other is rejected; and this is all that is essential to the argument. For both views cannot be right; that is, truth is not exclusively in the view taken of it, but also in the nature of things. For opposite things cannot be at the same time both right and wrong, and the same view of each cannot be indifferent as to good and evil, unless the distinction in morals, of sin and holiness is a delusion, and also of truth and error in the nature of things. For if this distinction exists, then because it is truth, it ought to be received; because it is right, it ought to be done.

As far, therefore, as the common consent of mankind honors sincere inquirers after truth, so far it admits that truth exists independent of our perceptions of it; and, that there is external to the mind a standard of truth to which all are under obligation to conform in opinion; and, because there is a standard of truth, there is also a standard of duty, to which all are under obligation to conform in practice.

The intelligent nature of man, therefore, and the existence of good and evil in the nature of things, are co-ordinate facts. Each one, taken separately, proves that men are accountable for what they believe; and the two, together, go still more strongly to the same point. For in nothing is more intelligence required than in separating truth from error, and nothing is as important to be known as the true and the good.

III. Men are accountable for what they believe; for if they are not accountable for their belief, they cannot in justice be held accountable for their conduct.

For, 1st, it is universally admitted that men ought to act in accordance with their convictions of right. But if their belief is erroneous, and their conduct in accordance with that belief, then their conduct in general, and their separate acts in particular, are also erroneous,—that is to say, in matters of a moral nature, sinful. But by the supposition, they are not accountable for their belief, and by common consent, they are accountable for a real, substantial agreement between their belief

and their conduct : therefore, there is no place for sin, except in the relation of the two, in the one matter of sincerity. All holiness, therefore, must consist in sincerity, and all sin in insincerity. In every case, therefore, the inquiry must be, not Is a man good or bad—not whether what he does is right or wrong; but Is he sincere or insincere?

On this point, as among men, each person must be his own witness, for none can know the heart of another. With the establishment of the principle, therefore, that men are not accountable for their belief, but only for sincerity in their belief, all governments administered by man must fall to the ground. For every one is right in doing what is *right in his own eyes*.

2d. Practice influences belief as really and as much as belief influences practice. A man by contemplating his own interest constantly, becomes selfish with regard to pecuniary matters, pleasure or ambition. This selfishness again, as a principle, not only may but must react upon his conduct, and of right it ought; for sincerity is a virtue of universal obligation. Each, therefore, both principle and practice, reflects upon the other, and the one is always modifying and determining the other. At one time, error in belief produces evil conduct, and at another, evil conduct undermines good principles. In each case, the man becomes weaker in principle and more erroneous in practice, and so lays the foundation for still further departures from the right both in belief and in conduct.

This process may be carried on indefinitely, until, as many sad examples prove, a man comes to believe in all sincerity that good is evil, and evil good; and then, by the theory that he is not accountable for his belief, a man becomes free from all obligation to practice what is right,—that is, by sinning, he has become free from sin—criminally accessory to his own justification in wrong doing as far as these particular acts are concerned!

Therefore, because actions and principles of action are thus indissolubly connected,—a man, if he is accountable for the one, is also, and for that very reason, accountable for the other.

If, then, men are accountable for their conduct and for sincerity in it, as the real expression of their sentiments, they are also accountable for the belief from which their conduct flows. Indeed, if any difference is made, belief ought to be guarded more carefully than particular acts. For an act, good or evil, is one; but a principle is the source of many acts, important if for no other reason, from their very number, and therefore influential both on the actor and on others.

IV. That men are accountable for what they believe is a view very commonly held in some of its specifications.

1st. The opinion is expressed by the words good, bad; right, wrong; true, false; base, noble; sincere, hypocritical; candid, prejudiced, as descriptive of the character and tendencies of men.

2d. The same opinion finds expression in the lines which unite and separate human beings in social life.

It will not answer to take up an evil report against a neighbor, without a careful and a candid examination as to its truth. For sincerity in belief, without foundation in fact, will not satisfy the party wronged; nor will it satisfy others, except so far as they delight in mischief. If such mistakes occur often, those who make them are avoided, socially ostracized as they ought to be, not only despite their sincerity, but on account of their sincerity. For base is the nature which requires such a small amount of testimony in order to sincere conviction.

3d. In professional life, the accountability is stricter still.

In an action for unprofessional conduct, it will not answer to plead a sincere conviction of the correctness of the course adopted. Nothing will satisfy except the actual possession of the knowledge professed, and the application of that knowledge in the way prescribed by the skill and the experience common to the profession. The professional man who mistakes his case, no matter how sincerely, may escape the adverse verdict of a jury or a court-martial; but he cannot escape the popular verdict that dispenses with his professional services.

4th. In regard to legal rights, in case of litigation, sincerity

by itself will not answer. It must be sincerity founded on a careful and candid examination of the testimony. Neither candor, nor care, nor sincere conviction will answer, but all of them jointly are necessary in order to a decision.

It will not satisfy an unsuccessful suitor in a just cause, to tell him that the court was sincere, if the one branch failed as to the law, or the other as to the facts. The parties to a suit have a right to expect sincerity, and they have an equal right to expect more. For if mere sincerity will discharge the conscience, it is a direct bribe to carelessness in the discharge of duty.

Therefore, because men are intelligent beings, able to investigate; because truth and error, being in the nature and relation of things, need to be investigated,—and because nothing is more important to be known than truth and error in their moral relations; because belief and conduct are so related that the one determines the other; and because all men, by common consent, hold all men to a strict account, where their interests are concerned; therefore, we are accountable both for what we believe and for what we do, and for the connection of sincerity between our belief and our conduct. This is the least that will satisfy the conditions of our existence as individual, moral beings, and as variously related both to each other and to God.

To the view here presented one objection has been made, which is worthy of notice, viz., that if men are accountable for their belief, their persecution is justifiable.

This objection, it is believed, can be disposed of simply by stating the particular cases to which it applies.

1st. With regard to God, the application is absolutely general; for God requires truth both in principle and in practice, that is, to be holy and to do right. Any failure in either of these particulars God counts as sin, and as sin He will punish it.

2d. With regard to men, the principle holds specifically as to the Church and the State.

The Church is founded on opinions, *i. e.*, Doctrines supposed

to be taught in the Scriptures, and is composed, as far as this point is concerned, of those who profess to believe certain doctrines, and to order their lives in accordance with them.

The Romish Church, claiming to be inspired, and therefore infallible, very properly pursues heretics with civil penalties, and very mercifully also, because it is to rescue them from perdition; but the Protestant Churches, because they do not claim to be infallible, can only separate themselves from the offending member. But neither of these acts can properly be called persecution; for, on the one hand, no one has a right to continued membership in an association after he has repudiated those distinguishing principles, the profession of which was the ground of his admission into it; and, on the other hand, the Romish Church, being infallible, can no more persecute than God can persecute. Unless, therefore, the Romish Church is accountable for its erroneous belief, viz., that it is inspired and therefore infallible, it is innocent of all the blood it has shed. For, if the belief is correct, the practice is right, for the practice flows from the belief by way of inevitable logical and moral necessity. The Romish Church, therefore, in doing what other men call persecution, is justifiable in the same sense the Apostle Paul was justifiable when he said to Elymas the sorcerer: "*O, full of all subtilty and all mischief, thou child of the Devil, thou enemy of all righteousness, wilt thou not cease to pervert the right ways of the Lord? And now, behold, the hand of the Lord is upon thee, and thou shalt be blind, not seeing the sun for a season; and, for the same reason, viz., because each, being inspired, is equally the means of declaring and executing the Divine Will.*" If, therefore, as it is alleged, the practice of persecution flows from the reception of the doctrine that men are accountable for their belief, the same practice does also certainly flow, in the judgment of all Protestants, from its rejection.

In regard to Civil Government, the objection is of no greater force.

A man may believe with all sincerity that there are no such

rights as the law gives of private property, and, consequently, that there is no such thing in morals as thrift, or he may believe that all governmental restraint is persecution; yet, if he expresses that belief in seditious words, or by way of seizing the property of another, he will find the doors of a prison open to receive him, with the hope on the part of his persecutors, for such he must regard them, that his affliction—affliction, for he cannot regard it as a just punishment—may teach him wisdom.

The objection, therefore, does not hold,—and therefore, as against the objection, the principle must stand, that men are accountable for what they believe, as strictly accountable, in the judgment of mankind for their belief as they are for their practice.

The principle thus wrought out as an abstract principle in Morals, will now be applied to some matters distinctively religious. In religious matters, as in other things, there must be some starting point as to which both sides are agreed. In regard to Revealed Religion, all Protestants hold that the starting-point is the Revelation which God has made of His Will in the Scriptures. The question, therefore, first in order, and greatest in importance, is: Are the Scriptures indeed and in truth the Word of God?

This question it is no part of our business, just now, to answer, or even to indicate by way of argument how it ought to be answered. The point in hand is merely to show that we are held accountable for the way we answer it, whether we receive the Scriptures or reject them. For if the Scriptures are of God, then they must have, as Nature has, some marks of Divinity upon them, which men cannot so counterfeit as to deceive the sincere, and diligent inquirer after truth. If they have such marks, they ought to be received; if not, they ought to be rejected. For our belief, therefore, on this point, whether it is the one way or the other, we are accountable. For, if the Scriptures are not the Word of God and we receive them as if they were, our hopes will be disappointed; and if they are, and we reject them as such, then *everlasting destruction*

from the presence of the Lord and from the glory of His power will be our doom.

In regard, therefore, to the acceptance of the Scriptures or their rejection, we must act in view of the highest possible of all considerations—our everlasting well-being. On this point, beyond all question, we are held to a strict account for our belief, *i. e.*, for the conviction which the evidence produces on our minds, and of right ought to be so held; for if the Scriptures are of Divine origin, then God, being the judge, they have evidence sufficient to authenticate them as Divine, for God certainly knows what ought to be required of His creatures. This question, therefore, must be answered upon the evidence it presents, in view of all the tremendous consequences it involves.

Again: If the Scriptures are the Word of God, His Will revealed to sinners to teach them what they as sinners are to believe and to do in order to regain His favor; if this be the conclusion arrived at, then it follows: 1st, that it will not do for impenitent men to say they cannot find the Way of Life in the Scriptures. For, if God has undertaken to teach, then, beyond all peradventure, He has made every point essential to the salvation of the soul, sufficiently plain to those who seek for it candidly and diligently. If, therefore, a man with the Bible in his hands fails to find a satisfactory answer to the question, *What must I do to be saved?* the difficulty must be sought for not in the Bible but in himself. It is not its obscurity but his own carelessness or perverseness that is the real stumbling-block. But perverseness or even inattention in regard to such a subject is of the nature of sin—a sin which must result in continued unbelief, that is, in everlasting death. Under such a penalty are all men who receive the Scriptures held accountable for what they believe the Scriptures to teach of the way of escape from sin? This is the judgment of God, from which there is no appeal and no escape.

2d. The principle of accountability for belief applies also to professed Christians in their organized capacity. For if the Scriptures are the Word of God, then they are consistent as a

whole, and therefore they teach only one System of Doctrine and only one Form of Order. The divisions, therefore, which exist in the Visible Church as to Systems of Doctrine and Forms of Organization, are sinful divisions. For, at the most, only one Denomination of Christians can say with truth, that the peculiarities which distinguish it from other denominations are taught in the Scriptures. The sin involved in these divisions may be the sin of ignorance, or of perverseness, or of party-spirit, but still it is sin, and as sin, *i. e.*, error in belief, and consequently disobedience to the law of love, in practice, God has punished it, among other ways in making them a prey to each other, and in some way He will continue to punish it.

From this point of observation, one great and manifest duty of all Christians is to study the Scriptures more carefully, and to pray more earnestly for the enlightening influences of the Holy Spirit in order that, under the guidance of an Omniscient Teacher in the Infallible Word, *we may all come in the unity of the faith and of the knowledge of the Son of God, unto a perfect man, unto the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ.* This consummation is to be attained, not by compromising the truth, but by holding it fast, as far as it is discovered, and by living in accordance with it; for truth is the only sure ground of lasting peace. In this way, and in this way only, so far as human means are concerned, can the prayer of our Lord ever be answered: *Sanctify them through thy truth: thy word is truth. As thou hast sent me into the world, even so have I sent them into the world. And for their sakes I sanctify myself, that they also might be sanctified through the truth. Neither pray I for these alone; but for them also which shall believe on me through their word: that they all may be one: as thou, Father, art in me, and I in thee, that they also may be one in us; that the world may believe that thou hast sent me.*

This prayer plainly assumes that the normal state of the Visible Church is that of Unity, and that divisions in it both mar its beauty and weaken its power. But if Christians are accountable, not for their belief, but only for sincerity in it,

then it is no concern of theirs whether this prayer is answered or not, that is, whether they are an aid to the world or a stumbling-block in receiving Christ as the Saviour of sinners. An answer is something which God in His sovereignty and by the direct exercise of His Almighty power may grant, but it cannot be a result for which Christians, either as individuals or as denominations, are in any way accountable. For their whole duty is performed when in sincerity they hold fast what they believe to be true, although they thereby rend the body of Christ and imperil the highest interests of a sin-ruined world! But no theory from which such consequences flow can be true. The prayer of our Lord, therefore, had a ground in the sinfulness of His followers, as well as an object in the beauty, the harmony and the effectiveness of His Church.

In order, therefore, that this prayer may be answered, this ideal realized; in order that the world may see and believe that there is indeed *one body, only one, and one spirit, even as ye are called with one hope of your calling; one Lord, one Faith, one Baptism, one God and Father of all, who is above all, through all, and in you all*; let us adopt as our own the prayer of the Apostle, as suitable now as it ever was, and as necessary for the whole Visible Church of Christ and for ourselves as a part of it: *For this cause I bow my knees unto the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, of whom the whole family in heaven and earth is named, that He would grant you according to the riches of His glory, to be strengthened with might by His Spirit in the inner man; that Christ may dwell in your hearts by faith; that ye, being rooted, and grounded in love, may be able to comprehend with all saints, what is the breadth, and length, and depth, and height; and to know the love of Christ, which passeth knowledge, that ye might be filled with all the fulness of God.*

Filled with all the fulness of God! The Church of Christ, His redeemed people, filled with His love and enlightened by that light of which God is the source into the knowledge of which He is the object; then will it be indeed one Church, one in faith and one in spirit,—a demonstration to the world both of its Divine origin and of its glorious destiny.

ART. V.—EXEGESIS OF I. PETER, III. 18-20 ;

OR CHRIST'S PREACHING TO THE SPIRITS-IN-PRISON.*

"For Christ also hath once suffered for sins, the just for the unjust, that He might bring us to God, being put to death in the flesh, but quickened by the Spirit, by which also He went and preached unto the spirits in prison, which sometime were disobedient, when once the long suffering of God waited in the days of Noah, while the ark was preparing, wherein few, that is eight, souls were saved by water."

THIS passage has long been a battle-field of the exegetes, on grammatical and theological grounds. The principal question in dispute has related to the affirmed "preaching" by Christ to "the spirits in prison." What was this "preaching?" How was it performed? When did it take place? Who were "the spirits in prison," and when the preaching occurred, were they alive on the earth, or were they dead men, in the world of spirits? Writers eminent as Biblical critics have widely differed in their answers, and it therefore becomes us to feel our way cautiously and modestly to an interpretation.

The passage is of a parenthetical or incidental character; the mind of Peter moving not so much logically, as by added suggestions, thought branching into thought, and one historic fact leading to the mention of another connected with it. This quality of the Petrine style must be borne in mind in the interpretation, as affecting the grammatical and rhetorical relations of words and of clauses to each other. The writer was comforting and instructing persecuted saints, whom he urged to maintain a holy life, that they might not suffer deservedly, but undeservedly, at the hands of their fellow-men. He reminds them that, in this respect, Christ had set an example; who had suffered, not as a personal sinner, but "the just for the unjust." Having thus introduced the sacrificial death of Christ, he could not forbear to follow out the suggestive fact into its relations

* From the *New Englander* for July, 1882. By Rev. Wm. W. Patton, D. D., President of Howard University, Washington, D. C.

and consequences, in a somewhat historical and chronological manner; noting the succession of interesting events which occurred in the redemptive process, to wit: (1) "the being put to death;" (2) the "being quickened by (in) the Spirit;" (3) the "going and preaching to the spirits in prison;" and (4) in verse 22, "the going into heaven and being on the right hand of God." This succession of historic events is marked, in the original, by a succession of aorist participles, each referring to Christ—*θανατωθεὶς*, *ζωοποιηθεὶς*, *πορευθεὶς*, and again *πορευθεὶς*; which thus seem to give the order of events in time. Precisely what these events were will largely be determined by the manner in which we translate certain words and phrases of the Greek original.

The received English version does not express the exact meaning of the Greek, in some respects. Thus it reads: "Being put to death in the flesh, but quickened by the Spirit." Now as *σὰρξ*, in the one clause, is purposely set over against *πνεύματι*, in the other, by way of contrast, neither of them having a preposition, it is plain, that if we supply a preposition, it should be the same one in both cases. Hence, we should read either, "Being put to death by the flesh, but quickened by the Spirit;" or else, "Being put to death in, or as regards, the flesh, but quickened in, or as regards, the spirit." That the latter conveys the true idea is now affirmed by all the best scholars; who refer to the New Testament usage of *σὰρξ* and *πνεῦμα* as denoting, in their contrasted connection with Christ, His human and His divine or theanthropic nature. Thus in Romans i. 3, 4, He is said to have been "made of the seed of David, according to the flesh" (*κατὰ σὰρκα*) and "declared (or demonstrated) to be the Son of God, with power, according to the Spirit of holiness, (*κατὰ πνεῦμα ἁγιοσύνης*), by the resurrection from the dead." The idea of Peter is not, that Christ died by the hands of men, and was made alive by the Holy Spirit; but that He died *flesh-wise*, or in bodily respects, or in His human nature, and was immediately full of life, *spirit-wise*, or in His divine or divine-human

nature. He died as regards the body, but was made alive as regards the disembodied spirit.

Our English version continues: "By which also he went and preached." The Greek reads more properly, "In which;" ἐν ᾧ, referring to πνεύματι immediately preceding. The idea then plainly is that the preaching was done in the spirit-state just mentioned; that is either in the person of the Logos, the divine nature of Christ, or in the person of the disembodied God-man: more naturally the latter. It is hardly worth the while, in considering the next clause, to allude to the fanciful idea of Augustine (who was not a Greek scholar) and of others, that the expression "in prison," ἐν φυλακῇ, is to be taken metaphorically, as meaning that the preaching was to the souls figuratively shut up in ignorance and sin. In the forty-five other places in which the word occurs, in the New Testament, it denotes a place of confinement, or else (in three or four passages) a period of watching at night. In no case has it a metaphorical or spiritualized meaning. As the Preacher is declared to have "spoken in the spirit," so those addressed are declared to be "the spirits in prison," which can mean no others than those in a condition in some respect similar to that to which Peter refers, in his second epistle, when he speaks of the fallen angels, as "cast down to hell, and delivered into chains and darkness, to be reserved unto judgment."

And this brings us to the much disputed question, whether the preaching of Christ "in the spirit," was to these "spirits" while they were in prison, and occurred after His own crucifixion, or whether it was to them while they were in the flesh, listening to the inspired warnings of Noah, though, when Peter wrote, they were spirits imprisoned. The most plausible argument in behalf of the latter supposition, with which I am acquainted, is that by President S. C. Bartlett, D.D., an acute scholar and an able reasoner, who, in an Article in *The New Englander* of October, 1872, thinks he has set the question forever at rest, on purely grammatical grounds. This is truly so, if the translation, which he affirms to be the only correct and

possible one, according to the Greek usage of an anarthrous participle connected with a noun which has the article, be forced upon our adoption. He declares the rendering of our English version to be ungrammatical, when it reads, that "He went and preached unto the spirits in prison (τοῖς πνεύμασι, with the article), which sometimes were disobedient" (ἀπειθήσασι, without any article); and asserts that "the proper grammatical and natural translation is: "He went and preached to the spirits in prison, when once they disobeyed." He says that "if anyone can produce a clear instance, or instances, of an anarthrous participle used as an attributive to a noun that has the article, it would be as a singularly rare exception; so much so as to constitute a grammatical error or solecism in the use of the Greek language." He has several pages to prove, by examples, and by quotations from the grammarians, that, in Greek, where a noun with the article is to have some added attribute or characteristic expressed by a participle, the latter will always have the article also; but that the participle without an article is never attributive (or as Crosby calls it, definitive), but is predicative or appositive, or circumstantial, specifying by some circumstance the occasion when the event took place which is referred to in the principal verb. Thus ὁ θεὸς ὁ ποιήσας τὸν κόσμον, would mean, "God, who made the world;" while ὁ θεὸς ποιήσας τὸν κόσμον, would mean, "God, when He had made the world." By this rule of grammar he thinks "that we are fairly shut up" to his translation of the passage under investigation.

His case seems, at first, so well made out, and President Bartlett is usually so accurate in his scholarship, that it might be venturesome to differ. But after reading the argument repeatedly, and noticing the strength of his expressions as to the simple, obvious, and universal principle of Greek grammar, said to be conclusive of the sense, one says to himself, with some perplexity: How, then, have so many distinguished ancient and modern Greek scholars managed to violate an obvious rule, that has no exceptions, and to translate in this

passage, ἀπειθήσασι, in an attributive or definitive sense—"who had disobeyed?" What were such recent scholars as Bengel, Rosenmüller, DeWette, Delitzsch, Stier, Huther, Bloomfield, Alford, Ellicott, Davidson, Mombert, Lange, Hadley, Craven, and Schaff thinking of, thus to forget their Greek Grammar? But worse yet; what was the matter with the Greek Fathers—who, without exception, held to Christ's descent to Hades, and his preaching to the spirits after His death, and who thought, talked, and wrote in Greek—that they also were so ignorant of their own idiom, as completely to misunderstand the passage, in like manner? And the Vulgate fell into the same error, rendering the words in question, "qui increduli fuerant." So did Rufinus in his Latin version of the famous *περὶ Ἀρχῶν* or *De Principiis* of Origen, whose exact quotation of this passage, in LII. Cap. x. § 3, is given thus: "In quo pergens prædicavit His spiritibus qui in carcere tenebantur, qui increduli fuerant." And the connected reasoning of Origen proceeds on this understanding of the case. And what shall be said, when the Latin version (which alone survives) of fragments from a commentary on this first epistle of Peter, by Clemens Alexandrinus, gives the latter's citation of this passage, as "Adveniens prædicavit eis qui quondam erant increduli." It thus seems perilous to accept President Bartlett's narrow grammatical rule, without considering carefully, whether it does not admit of qualification or extension. Does an anarthrous participle, agreeing with a noun having an article, always and simply mark, by the narrated event, the occasion, implying the time when the action of the principal verb took place? May it not sometimes have an attributive power—a fact to be ascertained by the nature of the case, and the accompanying phraseology? And even when it is appositive or predicative, may it not mark the kind of occasion, and thus the reason for the subsequent action of the principal verb, and not mark the date of its occurrence? What say the grammarians, and what are the facts, as indicated in Greek authors?

Professor Stuart, in his "Grammar of the New Testament,"

§ 91, says on this point, that with reference to participles which are not mere adjectives, but retain the meaning of verbs, "no certain rule can be given here, inasmuch as it generally depends on the intention of the writer as to the *prominence* which he designs to give to the participial word, whether the article is inserted or omitted." That the context must determine the exact idea conveyed by the anarthrous participle is also asserted by Buttman, in his "Larger Greek Grammar," § 144, when, citing an example, and actually putting the attributive meaning first, he says: "*ἐπεσεφάμην τὸν ἐταῖρον νοσῶντα* can mean, according as the context may determine, not only, 'I visited my friend who was ill,' but also 'when he, or because he, was ill.'" And this may be further explained, perhaps, by the principle brought forward by Buttman, § 125, Note 3, where he is discussing the similar case of an anarthrous adjective, of which he remarks: "When an adjective without the article stands in connection with a substantive which has the article, but not between the two, the object designated is thereby distinguished not from other objects, but from itself in other circumstances." Thus, to apply the idea in the case above cited, the participle *νοσῶντα*, does not distinguish my sick friend from some other person, my well friend, which would have required the article; but it simply emphasizes his ill condition, as constituting an implied reason for the action of the principal verb, "I visited." To say, "I visited my friend, he being ill," much more markedly expresses the reason, than the mere date; amounting to "I visited him because he was ill"—an idea which would naturally express itself also in the attributive phrase, "I visited my friend who was ill," or "who had been ill." And this seems to be the kind of case implied in this passage of Peter.

Let us inquire on this subject of that eminent scholar, Professor Alpheus Crosby. He remarks, "Greek Grammar," § 534, that "the insertion or omission of the article often depends, both in poetry and prose, upon emphasis, euphony, or rhythm; and upon those nice distinctions in the expression of our

ideas, which, though they may be readily felt, are often transferred with difficulty from one language to another. . . . In general, the *insertion* of the article promotes the *perspicuity*, and its *omission* the vivacity of discourse." This prepares us not to expect a cast iron rule, especially in lively, hortatory discourse, as in the text and context, or in loose, untrained writers, such as Peter. Hence, speaking, § 678, of the Definitive Participle, as *equivalent to a relative pronoun and a finite verb*," and "most frequently translated by these," he yet makes in its behalf no inexorable demand for the article, but says: "(a) It occurs chiefly with the article (the proper sign of this use, 520); but (b) sometimes without it, if the class only is defined." Winer, in his *New Testament Grammar*, § 20, says of attributive participles, that "they take the article only when some relation already known or specially noteworthy (*is qui, quippe qui*) is indicated, and consequently the idea expressed by the participle is to be made more prominent."

And here the words of Kuhner, in his "*Greek Grammar*" (1858) are worthy of notice; since even in describing the adverbial idea of the anarthrous, circumstantial participle, he employs the word "attributive;" because it is so obvious that the attendant circumstance may be so described as to amount to the attributive idea. He says, § 312: "The participle is used to denote such an attributive qualification of a substantive as will at the same time define the predicate of the sentence more exactly. In this case the participle expresses the adverbial relations of time, cause, motive, or purpose, condition and concession, manner." I notice, also, that W. E. Jelf, in his "*Greek Grammar*" (Lith. Ed., § 680) says that the use of the participle may be "as a remote attributive; the article standing before the substantive, as $\delta \alpha \nu \eta \rho \pi \alpha \rho \omega \nu$, the man who is present; or in opposition, as $\delta \alpha \nu \eta \rho \delta \pi \alpha \rho \omega \nu$."

Professor Wm. W. Goodwin, in his revised and enlarged *Greek Grammar* (1880) gives in § 142, as an attributive participle, this case: $\eta \epsilon \nu \tau \psi \iota \sigma \theta \mu \omega \epsilon \pi \iota \mu \omicron \nu \eta \gamma \epsilon \nu \omicron \mu \epsilon \nu \eta$ —where we have

an anarthrous participle agreeing with a noun which has the article—and he translates: "The delay, which occurred at the Isthmus," and not, "When the delay occurred on the Isthmus."

Now let us notice one or two cases in Greek authors, which may indicate this less rigorous rule as to the necessity of an article with the participle to denote an attributive idea. Thucydides, I. 59, says of the Athenian ships, that they "made war with Philip, and the brethren of Derdos, who had again made an incursion with an army"—*επολέμουν μετὰ Φιλίππου καὶ τῶν Δέρδων ἀδελφῶν, ἀνωθεν στρατῶν εσβεβληχότων*. The noun is definite and the participle is anarthrous, but yet the sense is virtually attributive, though it might be rendered "because they had again made," etc.; but no translator thinks of rendering the phrase, "*when* they had again made an incursion," as marking the time of the verb *επολέμουν*, rather than the occasion. Also, in the same author, I. 66, we read that complaint was made by the Corinthians of the Athenians, "because they had besieged the city of Potidæa, which was a colony of theirs"—*τὴν Ποτιδαίαν, ἑαυτῶν ὄυσαν ἀποικίαν*. Here also the noun has the article, while the participle has none, and yet the sense is manifestly attributive, describing the circumstance which made the deed unfriendly; and the phrase could not be rendered, "when it was their colony," simply as marking the date of the attack. The circumstantial runs thus easily into the attributive. Of this we have also an instance by the author of the passage in dispute; for in 2 Peter i. 18, the anarthrous participle *ἐνεχθεῖσαν*, which agrees with *τὴν αὐγὴν*, points out not the date of the occurrence, which is indicated by *ὅτε* *ἐν τῷ ἁγίῳ ὄρει*, but an important circumstance, or attribute of the voice heard, to wit: that it had come from heaven. Hence, the Revised Version renders it, a little obscurely: "This voice we ourselves heard come (margin, Gr. brought) out of heaven;" the idea being not "heard to come," but "heard as having come." Hence, the Authorized Version squarely renders it in the attributive form: "This voice, which came from heaven, we heard."

Our conclusion from this examination of grammarians, of Greek authors, and of the nature of the case is, that the anarthrous participle may be attributive, though joined to a noun with the article; and that this depends on the point of view of the writer, and the style of the narrative, and will be manifest from the order of the words, and the nature of the statements in the context. Hence we find so minutely critical a scholar as Dr. Samuel Davidson,—who pays special attention to niceties of Greek grammar, and who has given a revised translation of the New Testament into English from Tischendorf's text—rendering our passage thus: "Being put to death in the flesh, but quickened in the spirit, in which also He went and preached to the spirits in prison, which were once disobedient, when the long suffering of God was waiting in the days of Noah." So also the distinguished Greek scholar and commentator, Ellicott, particularly notices the anarthrous participle, as unusual, yet unhesitatingly says: "It is literally, 'To men who, once upon a time, were disobedient.'" And is not this the suggestion of the most bare and literal translation of the participle, to wit: "He went and preached to the imprisoned spirits having been disobedient formerly, when the long suffering of God was waiting," etc.? Hence Meyers' "Commentary," the highest critical authority (the volume on Peter being by Huther), corresponds in translation with our English version: "Die einst ungläubig waren." He notices the attempt to make the anarthrous participle, ἀπειθήσαντι, mean, "when they were disobedient," and remarks (p. 179): "Das ist aber nicht so, da das dem Substantiv in adjectivischer Weise hinzugefügte Particip oft genug mit demselben ohne Artikel verknüpft wird." "That is, however, not so; since the participle annexed to a substantive in an adjectival sense, is very often joined to it without an article." He goes on to argue that the previous connection and the order of the words suffice to indicate the attributive meaning, and with reference to the attempt to give here the predicative meaning of "when," says that it is "grammatisch unhalbar,"—"it is grammati-

cally untenable." If the article had been prefixed, it would have had a more strictly partitive sense, as specifying only a certain part of the whole class, "spirits in prison;" to wit: those of them who had formerly been disobedient in the days of Noah. Without the article this is implied rather than stated.

President Bartlett remarks, that "it is not surprising that in the earlier stages of Greek study, the translation, "which were sometime disobedient," should have found acceptance;" but he wonders that De Wette, Huther, and Alford should have sanctioned that rendering. What must now be his augmented surprise to find that the large body of eminent Greek scholars in Great Britain, who for ten years have been engaged in revising the translation of the New Testament, sanction the same rendering? For the "Revised Version" reads, in this passage, as follows: "Being put to death in the flesh, but quickened in the spirit; in which also He went and preached unto the spirits in prison, which aforetime were disobedient," etc. And what an addition must be made to his surprise, to learn that this rendering also received the sanction of the learned "American Committee," who coöperated in the revision!

But now a step further may be taken. Even if the phrase in question, "*ἀπεθῆσασι ποτὲ*," should be accepted as predicative, that would not shut up the interpretation to a designation of the date of the action of the principal verb, *ἐκήρουνεν*. Rather, in that case may it state a fact in the distant past, which formed the occasion, or reason, or ground of the subsequent preaching. President Bartlett limits the idea of occasion too much to a time or date supposed to be indicated by the anarthrous participle, and to denote in English by the introductory "when;" whereas, the word or phrase may often be, "because," or "since," or "inasmuch as," or "by reason of," or "in view of the fact that," etc. This idea will often be, practically, the same as if the form were attributive. Thus the words, "I slew him, having been my assailant," might with equal propriety take either the form, "I slew him, who

had been my assailant;" or "I slew him, because he had been my assailant." Hence we find Winer, § 20, remarking: "Whether the article is to be used or omitted before the participle, depends sometimes on the subjective view of the writer;" and he quotes Rom. viii. 1. (*textus receptus*), in which occurs the anarthrous phrase, *μη κατὰ σάρκα περιπατοῦσιν*, as meaning, "inasmuch as they walk not after the flesh;" in the English version, "who walk not after the flesh." I have already cited Kuhner's statement to this effect.

Hadley, in his Grammar, § 788, 789, states that a participle "may be related in various ways to the action of the principal verb," and, in addition to time, mentions means, cause, end, condition, and concession, and says that "different uses run into each other, and cases occur in which more than one might be assigned." Crosby states, § 674, that "the circumstantial participle is distinguished according to the circumstance denoted, as time, cause, means, condition, concession, purpose, consequences," etc. Goodwin, § 277, gives a similar list of ideas expressed, and adds, "any *attendant* circumstance, the participle being merely *descriptive*;" which makes a case nearly like that of an attributive. Similar is the teaching of Stuart, Buttman, and others.

Let us take a clear illustration. In Hebrews vi. 7. we are told of certain "who were once enlightened," "that it is impossible," "if they shall fall away, to renew them again unto repentance, seeing they crucify to themselves the Son of God afresh, and put Him to an open shame." The reason of the case, expressed by the word "seeing," in our version (and also in the Revised Version) is in the Greek simply implied in the use of an anarthrous participle, *ἀνασταυροῦντας*. This case not only sets forth the reason, rather than the time, but shows the infelicity of the statement, italicised by President Bartlett. "that when a participle alleges a reason or motive it is naturally and properly a motive lying *in the mind of the person referred to by the participle*, and not of the writer or some one else." That limitation might naturally apply, where the parti-

ciple agrees with the subject of the principal verb, but not when it is joined with the object; for the condition of the object may surely furnish a reason of action to the subject. Another instance of a reason, and not a date, being similarly indicated by an anarthrous participle, will be found in the same epistle, vii. 25. "Wherefore He is able also to save them to the uttermost that come unto God by Him, seeing He ever liveth (*πάντοτε ζῶν*) to make intercession for them." The accompanying circumstance of itself furnishes a reason—"in that He ever lives," etc. And how easily the circumstantial participle slips into a related attributive meaning, will appear in this case from a simple transposition, and the use of the attributive forms: "Wherefore He, who ever liveth to make intercession for them, is able also to save them to the uttermost." The scholarly authors of the Revised Version found a similar case of construction of an anarthrous participle joined to a proper name and a noun with the article in apposition, in James ii. 21; so that they actually changed the translation from "when," denoting time, to "in that," denoting the reason or argument: "Was not Abraham, our father, justified by works, *in that* (Authorized Version, "*when*") he offered up Isaac his son upon the altar?" Literally, "having offered up," *ἀνεβέχας*. Again, in verse 25, in reference to Rahab, the anarthrous participles, *ἐποδέξαμένη*, and *ἐχβαλοῦσα* are similarly changed, in the rendering of the Revised Version, from "*when* she had received the messengers and sent them out," to "*in that* she received," and "sent them out;" marking the reason of the case, and not the time. Another clear case of a similar nature is found in Acts xxiii. 18 where we have a definite noun, *τοῦτον τὸν νεανίαν*, and an anarthrous participle, *ἔχοντά*, marking not at all the time, and making the translation "when he has" utterly inadmissible, but allowing almost equally well, as regards the sense, the translation of the Received and the Revised Versions, "who hath," or that assigning a reason, "for he hath." So in this expression of Peter's, under examination, he implies a reason—either for the imprisonment, or for

the preaching—in the very fact of a previous unbelief or disobedience. In the "Critical Commentary" of Jameson, Fausset, and Brown, Mr. Fausset on this passage remarks: "The Greek participle expresses the reason of His *preaching*, 'inasmuch as they were sometime disobedient.'" This is from an author who agrees with President Bartlett in referring the preaching to the time and agency of Noah. Professor James Hadley held that the reason of the imprisonment was intended, and he wrote: "The natural unforced interpretation of the text is this—that Christ preached (i. e. made the announcements and offers of the gospel) to departed spirits who were in confinement as a consequence of their disbelief and abuse of the divine forbearance during the days of Noah." (Quoted on page 87, Note of Dr. J. M. Whiton's, "Is Eternal Punishment Endless?")

I conclude, then, that the grammar of the passage does not in any circumstances shut us up to the translation, "preached to the spirits in prison, when once they disobeyed;" and much less so, in case the drift of the words and phrases in the context should be repugnant to such an interpretation. Are they thus repugnant? It appears to me that they are. Take, for instance, the word *πότε*, which immediately follows *απεθῆσασι*, and for some reason qualifies it by the idea of "in previous time," "formerly." Now if this little word had only occurred immediately after *ἐχρουν*, it would have been claimed to decide its time, and the effort has vainly been made by some, contrary to Greek usage, to refer its power back to that word. But, associated as we find it, with *απεθῆσασι*, it more naturally gives the idea, that the preaching was to those who, at a former time, had been disobedient, to wit: "when once the long-suffering of God waited in the days of Noah." It may be true, in one sense, as President Bartlett says (though Robinson and Buttman, Hadley, Crosby, and Goodwin seem to contradict his form of statement) that, in Greek, "*πότε* is not, as many seem to suppose, the correlative of *ὅτε*;" which he contends would be *τότε*. Nevertheless, it has a general correlation: it marks

here, clearly, the idea of a former time, which is then made specific by the *ὅτε*; just as in Col. iii. 7 we read, *περιπατήσατε ποτὲ, ὅτε ἐζῆτε*.

Take, next, the participle *πορεύεις*, translated, "He went." This naturally implies a personal movement; a conception to which the operation of the Divine Spirit of Christ on the mind of Noah hardly responds, but to which a personal act of Christ, after His death, and in the world of spirits, perfectly answers. If it be argued that this is only a Hebraistic pleonasm, and really adds nothing to the words "He preached," the burden of proof is on the asserter, and he can adduce no such New Testament usage as to this word; while, what is much to the point, the 22d verse gives us the same word with an obvious personal movement, referring to Christ's ascension to heaven, and completing the specification of events in His history. It is well to heed the remark of Weiner, § 65: "In general too many participles in the New Testament have been represented as redundant, and though the decision may occasionally be doubtful, yet very many of them express notions which, were they not expressed, would be missed;" and he cites this very case from Peter, as in point. If any one wishes to study New Testament idiom as to *πορεύομαι*, used in connection with *κηρύσσω*, let him consult Mat. x. 6 7; Mark xvi. 15; and used in connection with other words of speaking, teaching, and the like, Mat. xxviii. 7, 19; Luke vii. 2; xiii. 32; Acts v. 20. But is not the idea, that *πορεύεις* is a pleonasm, or that it indicates a spiritual but not a local movement, sanctioned by the use of the word, *ἐλθών*, in Ep. ii. 17, where it is said of Christ, that "He came and preached peace to you which were afar off and to them that were nigh?" Not all; since, although Christ did not in the flesh visit the Ephesians, He did personally and locally "come" to this earth, and "preach" to the class of persons to which the Ephesians belonged, that is, to the human race, a gospel of salvation for Jew and Gentile; a fact which, as including the Ephesians, would literally warrant Paul's words. Jesus himself said: "The Son of man is come to seek

and to save that which is lost." He personally visited this world. Compare John xvi. 28.

Here it is proper to note the consecution of the three aorist participles, in the statement of the apostle. One can with difficulty avoid the opinion, that *θανατωθεῖς*, *ζωοποιηθεῖς* and *πορευθεῖς*, in their succession, having the same subject, follow a historic order of events, and refer successively to death of the body, quickened energy in the disembodied state, and a consequent visitation of the imprisoned spirits. The case in Heb. i. 1, 2, cited by President Bartlett as a similar case to the contrary is not at all parallel. That indeed shows three aorists in a sentence, which do not point to events in historical order; but not three consecutive aorist participles with the same subject. The grammatical construction is widely different, being that of an aorist participle, followed by aorist tenses. Nor is this interpretative force of the three consecutive aorist participles to be set aside by the plea of President Bartlett, "that here the connection is broken by the relative clause beginning ἐν ᾧ, and by the καί;" for this only gives a turn of expression which serves to confirm and illustrate the idea asserted in the *ζωοποιηθεῖς*, as will be shown hereafter. Indeed Davidson ("Introduction, I. 433) mentions as a characteristic of this epistle, that "new ideas are attached to a word by means of a relative pronoun, which gives the style a limping appearance."

Next let it be considered, what is implied in the words *ζωοποιηθεῖς δὲ πνεύματι*, "but made alive in the spirit." The "spirit" would seem to mean that in Jesus which survived the being put to death in the flesh (*σαρκί*, fleshwise); and thus to include the humanity as well as divinity of Christ, or His theanthropic nature—all that was included in the word "me," when He said to the penitent robber on the cross at His side: "To-day shalt thou be with me in Paradise." A grave theological error would have been introduced into the passage, even the denial of the full humanity of Jesus, if "spirit" here meant only His divinity; for it would have implied that the

person of Jesus lacked a human soul, and consisted of a human body animated by divinity. It must have included therefore His complete theanthropic nature.

But how could it be true, that it was in that spirit (*ἐν ᾧ*) He preached to the antediluvian sinners, in the time of Noah? Even if by *πνεύματι* could be understood his divine nature alone, and if *ζωοποιηθεὶς* could mean "remaining alive," which it never elsewhere does, serious difficulties occur. Where do the Scriptures teach that the ancient prophets were inspired by the second person of the Holy Trinity? Is not inspiration always referred to the Holy Spirit? Does not Peter himself say, that "holy men of God spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost?" 2 Peter i. 21. True, in 1. Peter i. 11, he refers to "the Spirit of Christ, which was in them;" but this appellation is harmoniously and naturally explained of the Holy Spirit by such passages as John iii. 34: "God giveth not the Spirit by measure unto Him" (Christ). Rom. viii. 9, 11: "If so be that the Spirit of God dwell in you. Now if any man have not the Spirit of Christ, he is none of His. . . . But if the Spirit of Him who raised up Jesus from the dead dwell in you, he that raised up Christ from the dead shall also quicken your mortal bodies by His Spirit that dwelleth in you." Gal. iv. 6: "And because ye are sons, God hath sent forth the Spirit of His Son unto your hearts, crying Abba, Father." Phil. i. 19: "I know that this shall turn to my salvation through your prayer, and the supply of the Spirit of Jesus Christ." Rev. xix. 10: "The testimony of Jesus is the spirit of prophecy." A study of these and similar passages will show, that as Christ was characteristically and specially filled with the Holy Spirit, as he made the gift of the Spirit his parting blessing to his disciples, and as the prophecy inspired by the Holy Ghost pointed ever to Christ, so it became easy and natural to speak of the Holy Spirit as "the Spirit of Christ."

But we must also give appropriate force to *ζωοποιηθεὶς*, Literally it signifies "made alive," and would seem to have fuller meaning, wherever used in the New Testament, than

"remained alive," or "was alive;" whether the reference in any case be to body or to soul. These passages may be consulted: John v. 21, vi. 63; Rom. iv. 17, viii. 11; 1 Cor. xv. 22, 36, 45; 2 Cor. iii. 6; Gal. iii. 21; 1 Tim. vi. 13, which, with the case in hand, embrace all the instances of its occurrence in the New Testament. If then the idea is, that when Christ's body died on the cross, His spiritual nature had new quickening, or activity, or manifested life, what more naturally illustrates and proves the assertion, that His proceeding, in that state, to the prison house of disobedient spirits to make an appropriate declaration of His Messianic work? How could this "quickenings" be illustrated by a reference to what occurred in the days of Noah? And here it may be noted, that this most pertinent, after-death illustration of the "quickenings," is naturally introduced by the relative clause *ἐν ᾧ* and the *καὶ*—"being quickened in spirit, in which also he went and preached to the spirits in prison." There is thus no real break of connected historic statement, in the successive aorist participles.

Next let us ask, what is the natural impression made by the words which describe those visited and addressed—*τοῖς ἐν φυλακῇ πνεύμασι*, "the imprisoned spirits?" If Peter meant, that Christ preached by Noah to living antediluvians, was it not singular that he should only call them "spirits in prison," when during the preaching they were alive in the body? Where are living men called "spirits?" Could he have meant "now spirits in prison?" What would not those who uphold that interpretation have given to secure the little word *νῦν* after *τοῖς*? How strange that Peter should have omitted to write, "preached to those who are now spirits in prison, but were at the time disobedient hearers of Noah." So strongly does Mr. Fausset feel the pressure of the plain Greek of the passage, that he translates, "preached in Spirit by Noah to the spirits then in prison," and makes the idea to be figurative, and to refer to the antediluvians, whose bodies indeed seemed free, but their spirits were in prison, shut up in the earth as one

great condemned cell," "disobedient spirits fast bound in wrath!" And Archbishop Leighton, too, changes from his first reference of the preaching to the days of Noah, because the hearers were plainly in prison during the preaching, and concludes that Christ did the preaching after His death and resurrection, through the apostles, to the sinners—captives in sin—who were converted under their labors! Such exegesis refutes itself! Plainly, Peter can hardly be thought to express the idea of preaching to antediluvians during their life, by the words "preached to the spirits in prison." Is it not evident, on the contrary, as Ellicott notices, that the statement of Christ's having been "quickened in spirit" led naturally to the mention of "the spirits" to whom He preached, while in that state of existence?

If, now, to all this, we add the telling omission of Peter to say a word in this connection about the preaching of Noah, to whose inspired utterances, nevertheless, he is supposed to have had sole reference, the unnatural and forced character of that interpretation is made apparent. Noah is not here referred to as a preacher, but only as calling up, by his well-known name and history, the time of their sin and punishment, and as introducing a curious analogy or parallel to baptism. It is hardly sufficient in reply to this, to allege that, in another epistle, and for a totally different purpose, Peter alludes to Noah as "a preacher of righteousness." Practically, then, the interpreter is to decide, whether it is more reasonable to suppose, that, as attributive and predicative meanings often are kindred and run into each other, Peter may have used the anarthrous *ἀπεθνήσκει* in an attributive sense, or possibly in an explanatory sense; or whether, on the other hand, it is probable that he omitted to speak of Noah's preaching, when his meaning all turned on that fact; and he attributed the inspiration of prophets to the second instead of the third person of the trinity; that he wrote the specific word *πορεύσεις*, yet intended no actual movement, though employing the same word in verse 22 to denote local movement; that he used, in a his-

toric recital, three aorist participles in close succession and having the same subject, but intended no similar succession of events; that he spoke of what was once done to living men, yet only calls them "spirits," neglecting to say that they were at the time living, but were now spirits; and that he asserted a "quickening" of the spirit of Christ, upon the death of the body, but instead of illustrating this by the action which occurred in the spirit-realm, went on to tell of the inspiration of the (unnamed) preaching of Noah, centuries before.

We are next called to confront the question: What is meant by the "preaching," in controversy? and What was its result? There has been much dispute over the import of *εκήρυξαν*. Literally the verb signifies to act the herald, and then in general to publish or proclaim any thing, good or bad. Most commonly it is followed by some word, as a definite object, which specifies what is proclaimed, e. g. Christ, the gospel, deliverance, baptism, kingdom, etc., or by an equivalent sentence giving the announcement. But the word had become so technical among Christians, in connection with preaching the gospel, that often the New Testament writers use it absolutely, as we do, omitting the specification. (See Matt. xi. 1; Mark i. 38, 39, iii. 14, xvi, 20; Luke iv. 44; Rom. x. 15.) It seems most probable, then, that in this passage it is used in some such sense. The difficulty is, to conceive the exact nature of the proclamation made, in such circumstances, to such characters; or to show why these alone are mentioned. We have no right to dogmatize on a mysterious subject, when Scripture purposely says so little, though we should bear in mind Bengel's words on the passage, in his "Gnomon": "We ought not to dismiss from it the proper signification of the language employed, because it has no parallel passages." God chooses, in some cases, to give us but a single glimpse of certain facts; but it were most unwise and venturesome, to deny or doubt the facts on that account. Thus in 1 Cor. xv. 24-28, is an express statement of a future event, with reference to the Son of God: "Then shall also the Son be subject unto

Him that put all things under Him, that God may be all in all." It is not asserted elsewhere, and it suggests grave theological difficulties; but in theology, as in natural science, we must accept a fact, whether or not we can explain it. A few suppositions may plausibly be made. It is plain that Christ, in His theanthropic nature, went somewhere, and did something, during the time His body lay in the tomb. His promise to the penitent robber shows, that He must have visited paradise, the abode of the holy, happy dead. Is it unreasonable to think that He also visited the prison of the wicked spirits? The parable of Lazarus and the Rich Man represents these as in a sense contiguous, and as both included in Sheol, or Hades, the world of the dead. Peter himself argues, in Acts ii. 24-31. that Christ's soul, according to prophecy, was not left in Hades, though it went there. How can we tell what relations His sacrificial work had to all who had previously lived and died; or what grand announcements might there be made, in the "quickenings" of His "spirit?" Is it contrary to any Biblical statement or analogy of divine procedure, that some redemptive opportunity may then have been announced to those who had lived and died in the darkness of the ages prior to Christ's atoning death, and who made part of the race for whom He died? If not, what class of persons might more properly be selected for mention than the sinners of the far off antediluvian age, who constituted a world by themselves, separated from the rest by the waters of the flood, and who were marked out by the peculiarity of their death, as a public illustration of punitive divine justice? What if the atonement could reach even their case, and the fact should be announced by the Son of God, Himself? If this idea have foundation, does it not gain a degree of confirmation from the hitherto perplexing words of Peter in the next chapter? "For, for this cause was the gospel preached also to them that are dead, that they might be judged, according to men, in the flesh, but live, according to God, in the spirit;"—language closely parallel with that used by Paul as to the treatment to be given to

the incestuous Corinthian (1 Cor. v. 5); "To deliver such a one unto Satan, for the destruction of the flesh, that the spirit may be saved in the day of the Lord Jesus." Does not Peter here go back to the fact which he had just mentioned, in the third chapter, and make use of it to show how proper it was that Christ should be "ready to judge the quick and the dead," who had made atonement alike for both, and had preached the fact to both? I simply offer the suggestion, making no affirmations, and drawing no inferences. Whatever the fact may have been, and whatever its relations to the past or the future, it cannot change the clear revelation of the New Testament as to the destiny of those who hear and reject the gospel, and for whom in the judgment it is to be less tolerable than for Tyre and Sodon, or for Sodom and Gomorrah.

ART. VI.—A DAY ON THE MOUNT OF THE OLIVES.

Ἡ δὲ ὁμὴν λέγω, πασι λέγω.

—Mark 13 ch., 37 v.

THE famous Mount of the Olives* is elevated twenty-six hundred and forty-one feet above the level of the Mediterranean, which bounds Palestine on the west at a distance of about thirty-six miles from the Mount. To the east is the Dead Sea, and the Jordan less distant than the Mediterranean. West of the Mount of the Olives, at a distance of about six-eighths of a mile, is the city of Jerusalem, which is separated from the Mount of the Olives by the brook Kidron, which runs from north to south at the base of the mountain past Jerusalem, and a short distance below the south-east corner of the city it receives the waters of the Gihon, and thence flows on an easterly

* Ency. Brit., 9th Edition, Vol. 13, pp. 636-642.

direction until it empties into the Dead Sea. Colonel Wilson, of the Royal Engineers, under the auspices of the British Government, in 1866 accurately ascertained the geographical position of Jerusalem. It is in latitude thirty-one degrees forty-six minutes and forty-five seconds north, and in longitude thirty-five degrees thirteen minutes and twenty-five seconds east of Greenwich, taken at the dome of the church of the Holy Sepulchre. The Mount of the Olives is elevated two hundred and six feet above the level of the site of the ancient Temple, and averages four hundred and seventy-eight feet above the level of the brook Kidron, taken at three different points. The upper point being opposite the old site of the Temple, and the lower point a short distance below the junction of the Kidron and the Gihon. The fall between these two points being two hundred and thirty-five feet. Passing out of the city on the east at St. Stephen's Gate, a short distance north-east of the Temple site and over the Kidron Valley you deflect to the right and come to the Garden of Gethsemane at the western base of the Mount of the Olives, and from thence the road, as now laid out, running south east past Gethsemane, leads to the village of Bethany, about two miles distant from Jerusalem, the former abode of Martha and Mary, where Jesus was wont often to retire. Near to the Garden of Gethsemane one or more roads going nearly due east, lead up the steep side of the Mount of the Olives to the church of the Ascension. We have evidence that the main road from Jerusalem to Jericho and the Jordan led directly up the Mount of the Olives more than one thousand years before the time about to be spoken of, 2 Sam'l, ch. 15, v. 30. There is no place on the earth around which so many historical events, interesting to the whole christian world, have occurred as that of the Mount of the Olives. When David, the king, fled from the face of his son Absalom, he passed over the brook Kidron bare footed and up the steep ascent of the Mount, weeping as he went, 2 Sam'l, 15 chap., 30 v. When Jesus made his triumphal entry into Jerusalem, coming up from Jericho, he entered the city by the way of the Mount of the Olives, Luke, ch. 19,

v. 37-41. "And when he was come near he beheld the city and wept over it." The disciples were rejoicing and saluting Him as the King that cometh in the name of the Lord,—the multitude were shouting hosannas to His name which was taken up by the children and repeated in the Temple; many laid down their garments on the way and others cut branches from the trees and strewed them on the road. The Pharisees, filled with envy, asked Jesus to rebuke his disciples. Failing in this they exclaimed, "Behold the world is gone after him." In the midst of this general rejoicing, Jesus, the object of it all is alone sad, not for himself, but for the fated city of Jerusalem. This ineffable tenderness and abnegation of self has no parallel, except in His reply to the women who followed Him, in tears, a few days afterward to the Cross, when he turned to them and said, "Daughters of Jerusalem weep not for me but weep for yourselves and for your children." This sadness in the hour of general rejoicing, this tender expostulation with the Daughters of Jerusalem on His way to Calvary, "Weep not for me," rise far above the sphere of human emotions under similar circumstances. Invention is here impossible—the mere human heart never so responded under like conditions. The Mount of the Olives was the frequent resort of Jesus and his disciples. Seated on that lofty eminence overlooking the city, He announced the impending destruction of Jerusalem and the sign of His Coming and of the End of the World. The first has been and is being literally fulfilled. Neither the apostate Julian, clothed with imperial power, madly resolved to rebuild the Temple in sedate and deliberate contempt of Jesus' words, nor the successive armies of misguided Crusaders bent on freeing the Holy Land from the rule of the Saracen have been able to frustrate the Prophecy. Even the ruins of the Temple have disappeared and Jerusalem is still trodden under-foot of the Gentiles. From the eastern slope of the Mount, after the resurrection, the ascension took place, Luke, 24 chap., 50 and 51 vs. Acts, 1 chap., 12 v. This final summation of all miracles is commemorated by the Church of the Ascension.

Before all of the first Christians had fallen asleep the revolving years had brought Titus Cæsar to the Gates of the City.* In the month of Nisan in the year A. D. 70 it is invested and the old Tenth Legion of Vespasian's veterans are encamped on the Mount of the Olives. In the midst of the general distraction produced by the approach of the Roman army, appalling discensions rend the fabric of social order—the city is divided into hostile factions—the chiefs contend for the supremacy—the Holy place is drenched with blood—battles, treachery and the torch complete the picture of the internal disorder as the master pen of Tacitus has described it.

The close observer of human events cannot fail to see that when "Destiny is driving things to an aim all the forces as well those of action as of reaction tend to hasten on the event." Armed with God's irrevocable decree Cæsar will enter the city before the summer is ended and not one stone shall remain upon another in the Temple Building. The inhabitants of Jerusalem, numbering in the aggregate of all ages and sexes† six hundred thousand will be slain or carried into captivity. The twenty-third and twenty-fourth chapters of the Gospel by Matthew contain the most complete and systematic report which has come down to us of the words uttered by Jesus in reference to the subject here treated of on the same week of his Passion. The contents of a part of the 24th chapter delivered on the Mount of the Olives, probably on the Tuesday before the Crucifixion, will here invite attention, and especially the proper organic relation of the three several historical currents of this most wonderful prediction. The discourses of Jesus generally had relation to Heavenly things. He here condescends to speak of earthly things. The narrative is descriptive and follows "the drama and contrivances of God's providence," which fixes the series of revolving events. Notwithstanding the order and harmony of the Universe and the long observed persistent energy which

* Tacitus Hist. Book 5, chap. 1; Josephus, Jewish Wars, Book 4, page 165.

† Ibid Hist. Book 5, chap. 13.

holds all the multitudinous worlds in exact relative position amidst perpetual changes on a gigantic scale there has existed from a very early period in the minds of some of the most enlightened sages of the ages that are past a belief more profound than a mere speculation that a final catastrophe awaits this stupendous structure. Modern research has at least approximately established the kinship of world to world and sun to sun. They are all germane to each other. The workmanship of One hand, and are held in their several spheres by a common bond of reciprocal action. If the Divine-Man did not speak as God when he descriptively involved all the worlds in one common catastrophe, He did not at least fall below the level of the most enlightened astronomers of the present day when he unfolded to his disciples the astounding fact that the end and destruction of this world would "shake the powers of the heavens." Saint Peter expressly says, "But the day of the Lord will come as a thief in the night in the which the heavens shall pass away with a great noise and the elements shall melt with fervent heat, the earth also and works therein shall be burned up." After addressing the multitude and His disciples in the manner indicated in the 23rd chapter of the Gospel by Matthew, Jesus went out of the Temple and was about departing when some of His disciples called his attention to the imposing structure of the Building. His divine eye looked beyond all this external splendor—saw the stately and gorgeous Temple in ruins, Jerusalem in ashes and her children slain or carried into captivity, and instantly and with emphasis He replied *Ὅ βλέπετε πάντα ταῦτα*. This sentence has been translated interrogatively "See ye not all these things?" The language used occurred in colloquial reply and under circumstances in which classic form of speech is not to be expected. It appears to me that the authorized translation misses the point. "Ye do not see ALL this" *angilce* of this, would be much more vivid and dramatic and more in harmony with the strong, energetic and emphatic expression of the clause which immediately follows: "Verily I say unto you there shall not be left here one stone upon another, that shall not be

thrown down." It is hardly necessary to say to any tolerable Greek scholar that the neuter plural *ταῦτα* is more appropriately rendered in English "this," than "these" when the connexion in which it is used does not require the plural.

After these brief remarks made at the Temple, Jesus passed out of the City and over the Kidron Valley and ascended the steep side of the Mount of the Olives, and when he had reached the summit overlooking the City of Jerusalem he sat down. It was the last day of His public Messianic mission previous to the Crucifixion. He had that day taken his leave of the citizens of Jerusalem. "Behold your House is left unto you desolate. For I say unto you, ye shall not see me henceforth till ye shall say blessed is He that cometh in the name of the Lord." The address which Jesus had that day delivered in the Temple in the presence of the multitude had humiliated and disgraced in their eyes the ruling class in Jerusalem—the Scribes and Pharisees. The terrible event which followed shows that Jerusalem was in a ferment. They resort to the last argument of mortally offended dignity and pride, and secretly take counsel how they might destroy Him. It was the spring season in that temperate climate, as we learn from the 32d verse of this chapter although this does not appear in the authorized translation, but is clearly brought out by St. Jerome in the Vulgate "*Cum jam ramus ejus tener fuerit et folia nata.*" The mountain slope was covered with early grass—the trees were in bloom and all terrestrial nature was putting on festive robes; so strangely in contrast with the troubled spirit of the Great Prophet seated there on the mountain which David, the King, has watered with his tears, when he fled from the face of his son Absalom. The disciples arrive—they approach Him in private—resume the subject which had been terminated so abruptly at the Temple and anxiously inquire, saying, "Tell us when shall these things be and what the Sign of Thy coming and of the End of the World?" 5th verse "And Jesus answered and said unto them, Take heed that no man [*μή τις*, least anyone] deceive you [*πλανῆσῃ*, lead you astray]. For many shall

come in my name ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι μου, saying I am [‘o the] Christ, and shall deceive many.” [καὶ πολλοὺς πλανήσουσι.] The antithesis between coming in Christ’s name and yet leading many astray is marked by the καὶ and should be rendered *but* shall lead many astray. The fifth verse forms the Prologue to the whole of this prophetic discourse and it is of no small importance that it should be correctly understood. It seems to me it invites a more profound critical examination than has been bestowed on it by the commentators. Beza, a very scholarly writer of the sixteenth century in translating this verse into Latin renders it as follows: “*Multi enim venient sub nomine meo dicentes ego sum Christus ille, multos que seducunt.*” The influence of such a form of translation by one who was esteemed competent to succeed Calvin at Geneva must have been very great during the Reformation period and afterwards. It is evident that Beza here uses the preposition *sub* in the same sense in which Tacitus uses it in the *Annales*, 6th Book, 12th sec., *multa vana sub nomine celebri vulgabantur*, for in other places where the same order of words occur he translates differently, namely, Matthew 18th ch. 5th verse, he translates the same words into “*nomine meo*,” and Mark, 9th chap., 39 verse, into “*per nomen meum.*” Meyer, following Beza, as quoted by Lange regards the persons here spoken of as false-christs. And DeWette, as reported by Dr. Bloomfield, seems also to have held that the persons here referred to in the fifth verse, were Impostors. And even the learned Olshausen Com. vol. 2, page 230, says, in discussing the meaning of this fifth verse, “As the first danger the Redeemer mentions that men will rise up who will pretend to be the Messiah and will seduce many. In the absence of any evidence to show that the very point here involved had been critically examined, these utterances can hardly be considered as more than *obiter dicta* and yet even the views of such eminent scholars although cursorily expressed are entitled to great consideration. Unable to arrive at the same conclusion it is with the greatest deference to such eminent names that I here present some of the reasons which appear to lead to a different construction

and by way of apology I may say that I would have preferred to avoid any discussion of this subject, but the proper construction of this verse is in the very path of my discussion, namely the right organic relation of the several parts of this wonderful prophecy. We can analyze the profoundest human thought and assign a definite meaning, but who in the realm of mere reason can mount to the height or sound the depth of Jesus' words so as to be able to say with apodictic certainty that the full meaning is comprehended. The earlier Latin translation of this verse by St. Jerome in the fourth century, is in these words: *Multi enim venient in nomine meo dicentes ego sum Christus, et multos seducent.* The question at issue is embraced in these words: 'Εγώ εἰμι ὁ Χριστός. I am the Christ! Are these words in the nature of a quotation intended to represent the very language of the persons referred to or are they not rather in the form of a dependent sentence, the *oratio obliqua* of the grammarians in which Jesus describes what the persons referred to will say of Him, and yet, notwithstanding this, be the cause of leading many astray. Does not the Prologue point to the generic infirmity of the race even in its higher aspirations as a Sign of the coming of Christ to terminate this ceaseless conflict with the Powers of Darkness? All the other words in this verse are descriptive, and if so, on what ground can it be said that these words are not also descriptive? The sudden transition from the plural to the singular from Πολλοὶ to Εγώ instead of ἡμεῖς, ought to arrest attention. But the preceding clause "ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματι μου" cannot be overlooked nor its force set aside in a proper exegesis of the words of this verse. These identical words occur frequently in the New Testament and always in a good sense unless the clause under consideration and the corresponding statement in Mark and Luke are an exception. The ἐπὶ when standing in such relation has a pregnant meaning of peculiar significance. Matthew, 18th chap., 5th verse, "And who so shall receive one such little one in my name, ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματι μου, receiveth me." Mark, 9th chap., 39th verse, "But Jesus said forbid him not

for there is no man which shall do a miracle in my name ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματι μου that can lightly speak evil of me." Luke, 9th chap., 48th verse, middle clause, "Whosoever shall receive this child in my name ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματι μου receiveth me." Luke, 24th chap., 47th verse, "And that repentance and remission of sins should be preached in his name ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματι αὐτοῦ among all nations, beginning at Jerusalem. Acts, 2d chap., 38th verse, "Then Peter said unto them repent and be baptised every one of you in the name of Jesus Christ ἐπὶ τῷ ὀνόματι Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ for the remission of sins, and ye shall receive the gift of the Holy Ghost." Many other citations might be made of like character, but these must suffice. The ἐπὶ upon his name imports trust and dependence upon Him or for his honor and glory. Such import of the preposition ἐπὶ when governing the dative as here also appears in the classic writers, Iliad, Book 23, line 776, ἐπὶ Πατρόκλῳ, in honor of Patroclus Herodotus, 7th Book, inscribed to Polymnia "ἐπ' ἀνδρὶ γέ ἐνι," depending upon one man, ἐπὶ with the dative as used by classic Greek writers also implies open hostility but not disguised enmity. On the other hand, in John, 5th chap., 43d verse, last clause of the verse, there is a description in appropriate language of one who comes claiming for himself a Messianic character, "I am come in my Father's name, and ye receive me not. If another shall come in his own name ἐν τῷ ὀνόματι τῷ ἰδίῳ, him will ye receive." If then to come in the name of Christ as described in the 5th verse imports dependence on Him and for his honor it would be a contradiction for such persons to claim to be the Messiah, and the construction of Meyer, DeWette and Dr. Bloomfield on this hypothesis misses the true import of this verse. Laying aside the Greek participial form of expression and rendering the whole in genuine English phrase how simple and beautiful this verse will read. "For many shall come in my name who will say, I am the Christ, but will lead many astray." The καὶ in the last clause of the sentence marking the antithesis between coming in Jesus' name and yet leading many astray should as here be rendered "but." If the

construction here advocated be the true exposition is not every page of Ecclesiastical History marked with the fulfillment of the prophecy? Assuming at least for the purposes of this article that the view here vindicated is correct, then I apprehend that this whole discourse of Jesus from beginning to the end presents an unbroken unity and is logically faultless. These prophetic statements are not made in an outward way, but rather from the very bosom of the actions and events described. The seething cauldron of human depravity in its conflict from age to age with the TRUTH is described as if by an eye witness and as the end approaches the congregated vices of all ages, like the last hours of a drunken revel shake the whole fabric of social order. From first to last, every sentence although in different currents, progressively points to the final catastrophe. The False Christs, fitting companions of earth's last stages of depravity, will appear far down the stream of time as described in the 24th verse of this chapter, and to confound the latter with the persons described in the fifth verse is at variance with the harmony and nicely adjusted precision of the description which follows. If we attentively consider the further unfolding of the prophetic narrative, beginning with the sixth verse, one cannot fail to perceive that there is a certain order and systematic arrangement of the facts and events which foreshadow the coming of Christ to judgement and the final consummation of terrestrial life. These facts are not presented promiscuously nor all in one historical current, but for greater precision and clearness, attention is first directed to one series of events appropriately classified and invested with dramatic interest and unity, and then to another series *inter se* of allied and congruous facts, different from the first but in a large measure parallel and contemporary with the same. The third series of facts and events portrayed, pertain wholly to the fate of Jerusalem and the Jewish people.

This last descriptive narrative appears to close before the termination of the other two series first mentioned in harmony with the declaration contained in the twenty-second verse of

this chapter, "But for the elect's [chosen's] sake those days shall be shortened." The closing scene of this series of events is omitted by the apostle Matthew, but must be brought into view from Luke, 21st chap., 24th verse, "And they shall fall by the edge of the sword and shall be led away captive into all nations; and Jerusalem shall be trodden down of the Gentiles until the times of the Gentiles be fulfilled." Such appears to be a general outline of these three several series of events.

It may be further noted that the progress of the human race in knowledge and in a higher civilization have no place in the picture here drawn. The inquiry was when shall these things be and what the sign of Thy coming and of the End of the World? The answer does not transcend the scope of the enquiry, but is strictly responsive and also in unison with the dread event of the final catastrophe. A long and dark catalogue of depravity marks every stadium of time unfolded to our view. Sin is everywhere the one supreme calamity which obscures the light of Heaven and like the shadow on the sun-dial, is counting off the hours of this terrestrial life and hastening on Judicial sentence, and as the ceaseless flood of time nears the goal an appalling climax of apostasy, lawlessness, and loss of faith everywhere become prevalent. Sentient nature ruled by God's Providence feels the curse, withholds her rich harvests and healthful air;—dire famine and pestilence invade the land, the low rumbling voice of seismic thunders rend the earth. In this extreme hour of the world's despair, when all the fell passions of mankind are crowded together, and the decimated ranks of Christendom are wavering, full high above this ghastly scene, coming down through all the ages from the Mount of the Olives the voice of Jesus is heard saying, **HE THAT SHALL ENDURE UNTO THE END THE SAME SHALL BE SAVED.** Such is a brief, but inadequate outline of this sublime description. The sustained dignity of Jesus in discussing such transcendent facts surpasses the power of humanity. His reassuring voice, just in the last hours of the world's extremity, louder than the roaring of the sea and mightier than the powers of

dissolving Nature tottering to its fall, rises to the grandeur of a God.

There is no one term in the English language known to me which will exactly represent in a single word these three several series of events, separately considered, and yet all pointing to one and the same final catastrophe. They have been called cycles, a term not altogether accurate, for the cycle preserves its uniformity and returns into itself. The stream of actions and events, of passions and of violence, here separately portrayed like a river fed by many mountain torrents increases in volume and intensity as time rolls on and is finally lost in the abyss of endless woe, never to return. But for the want of a better term and for the sake of uniformity the word in use will be here adopted. The first cycle includes all contained in the description from the sixth to the eighth verse, both inclusive. The climax is reached at the close of the seventh verse and is in large measure concerned with physical—not moral calamities. The second cycle includes the whole of the description from the ninth to the fourteenth verse, both inclusive. The transition from the closing scenes of the preceding cycle is aptly and gracefully made by the adverb *Tότε*, which like the Latin *Tunc* serves here to introduce the coincident facts of the second cycle which will happen during the period of the first cycle. "THEN (that is during the interval of time embraced in the first cycle) shall they deliver you up to be afflicted, and shall kill you, and ye shall be hated of all nations for my name's sake. And then shall many be offended and shall betray one another and shall hate one another. And many false prophets shall rise and shall deceive many. And because iniquity shall abound the love of many [*οἱ πολλοί*] the many, shall wax cold." That the *τοτε* here does not import any order of sequence to the events mentioned in the seventh and eighth verses immediately preceding is too palpable to require much argument. The first verse of the twenty-fifth chapter of Matthew and the beautiful parable of the ten virgins is introduced also by the adverb *Tότε* in a sense similar to its use in the ninth verse, here under consideration.

It will not be claimed that it there marks any special sequence to what had immediately preceded, but in a broad sense the *τότε* in the first verse of the twenty-fifth chapter refers generally to the cyclical interval of time, covered by the prophesy contained in the twenty-fourth chapter, and so in the ninth verse of the twenty-fourth chapter, the *τότε* points to the same period of time embraced in the description of the first cycle. There is in the closing clause of the first cycle an evident rounded periodicity marking the terminus of that cycle. We have a brief comment on the order of these cycles in the words of Jesus as recorded by the Evangelist Luke, 21st chap., 12th verse, "But before all these things [*Προ' δὲ τούτων πάντων* before these all], (substantially the same things as narrated by the apostle Matthew in the first cycle), they shall lay their hands upon you and persecute you, delivering you up to the synagogues and into prisons, being brought before Kings and Rulers for my name's sake," which latter description is also substantially identical with the delineation in the opening verse of the second cycle, as set forth by the apostle Matthew, and which is introduced by the adverb *τότε*. So it is clear from these considerations, that the word *τότε* THEN, in the first part of the ninth verse does not mark any order of time sequence to the description in the seventh and eighth verses. Jesus having thus vividly portrayed in the First and Second cycles the sign of His coming and of the final consummation of all terrestrial things, next in order proceeds to answer the first question asked by His disciples, namely, "When shall these things be?" The third and last cycle refers specifically to the fate of Jerusalem and the Jews, and is impressively introduced by these words: "*Όταν οὖν ἴδῃτε το βόλεγμα, &c.*" We see in this opening sentence that abrupt introductory brevity so much admired in some of the greatest orators and poets." "*Ad eventum festinat et in medias res non secus ac notas, auditorem rapit.*" Doubtless the prediction of Daniel, the prophet, in reference to the destruction of Jerusalem was well known to the apostles. With a word Jesus brings that subject vividly before their minds

—refers to it as something with which they were familiar, and said: "When ye therefore shall see the abomination of desolation spoken of by Daniel the Prophet stand in the Holy Place, (whoso readeth let him understand"), &c. The prophecy of Daniel is regarded as if it had been first recited, and the *ὅν* points to the conclusion as to what measures the followers of Jesus should observe to secure their safety, when they would see the "abomination of desolation" installed in the Holy Place. Jesus just before the events recorded in this twenty-fourth chapter had said openly when teaching in the Temple, Matthew 21st, and 13 verse: "It is written my house shall be called the house of prayer; but ye have made it a den of thieves." It is this moral corruption of the Jewish Hierarchy, the desecration of the sanctuary, and the pollution of sacred things by a carnal Priesthood, wholly under the influence of worldly affections and passions, to which the prophecy of Daniel evidently refers, and to which Jesus called the attention of His disciples. This cycle begins with the fifteenth verse, and ends as recorded by the apostle Matthew, with the twenty-second verse, but in order to its full completion, the twenty-fourth verse of the twenty-first chapter of Luke, which the apostle Matthew has omitted, should be inserted after the twenty-second verse. It is not the place here to discuss the probable reasons for this omission. From the twenty-second verse of this cycle we learn that it will be shortened for the "elect's [chosen's] sake," otherwise "there should no flesh [*Σάρξ*] be saved." The word "flesh" used here, evidently points to the temporal preservation of the Jews as a peculiar people. They will not be lost as a distinct people by too long commingling with the nations of the world. It would be a narrow construction to confine these shortened days to the period of the siege of Jerusalem by TITUS. In a broad sense it embraces not only that period, but also all the subsequent interval of time to which this cycle extends, and will only terminate when the times of the Gentiles are fulfilled. According to the view here taken, the three cycles following the Prologue stand related to each other in

series in large measure parallel and contemporaneous as represented below. It is a great painting worthy of the genius of Raphael, and should be painted rather than described.

PROLOGUE.

And Jesus answered and said unto them, Take heed that no man deceive you [*μή τις ὑμᾶς πλανήσῃ*. Least any one lead you astray.] For many shall come in my name saying I am ['O the] Christ, and shall deceive many [*καὶ* but will lead many astray.

And ye shall hear of wars
and rumors of war. See that
ye be not troubled. For all
must come to pass; but the
end is not yet. For nation
shall rise against nation and
kingdom against kingdom,
and there shall be famines
and pestilences and earth-
quakes in divers places. All
these are the beginning of
sorrows.

THEM shall they deliver
you up to be afflicted, and
shall kill you, and ye shall
be hated of all nations for
my name's sake. And then
shall many be offended, and
shall betray one another, and
shall hate one another. And
many false prophets shall
rise and shall deceive many.
And because iniquity shall
abound the love of many
[*οἱ πολλοί*, the many] shall
wax cold. But he that shall
endure unto the end the
same shall be saved. And
this gospel of the kingdom
shall be preached in all the
world for a witness unto all
nations, and THEN shall the
END COME.

When ye therefore shall
see the abomination of desola-
tion spoken of by Daniel
the prophet stand in the holy
place [whose readeth let him
understand], then let them
which be in Judea flee into
the mountains. Let him
which is on the housetop not
come down to take anything
out of his house. Neither let
him which is in the field re-
turn back to take his clothes.
And woe unto them that are
with child and to them that
give suck in those days; but
pray ye that your flight be
not in winter, neither on the
sabbath day. For then shall
be great tribulation such as
was not since the beginning
of the world to this time, no
nor ever shall be. And ex-
cept those days should be
shortened there should no
flesh be saved, but for the
elect's [chosen's] sake those
days shall be shortened
(Luke xxi. 24); and they
shall fall by the edge of the
sword, and shall be led away
captive into all nations, and
Jerusalem shall be trodden
down of the Gentiles until
the times of the Gentiles be
fulfilled.

In full view now of this grand and awful picture thus vividly presented hanging on the horizon of Time and ready to burst upon a world all unconscious of the danger, a voice of warning is heard coming down through all the ages from the Mount of the Olives, saying (23 v.), "THEN if any man shall say unto you, Lo here is Christ [*'o the Christ*], or there, believe it not. For there shall arise false Christs and false prophets, and shall show great signs and wonders; insomuch that if possible they shall deceive [*lead astray*] the very elect. Behold I have told you before; wherefore if they shall say unto you, Behold he is in the desert, go not forth; behold he is in the secret chambers, believe it not. For as the lightning cometh out of the east and shineth even unto the west, so shall also the coming of the son of man be. For wheresoever the carcass is there will the eagles be gathered together." Events now move rapidly. The Times of the Gentiles have been fulfilled,—the Powers of darkness are actively at work,—the low rumbling voice of seismic thunders downwards rend the earth,—the sea and the waves are roaring,—men's hearts are failing them for fear,—the dome of heaven and the great worlds that move in boundless space now wear an unfriendly and portentous aspect,—the Gospel of the Kingdom has been preached in all the world for a witness to all nations. The end of all things is at hand which Jesus thus describes: "IMMEDIATELY after the tribulation of those days shall the sun be darkened and the moon shall not give her light, and the stars shall fall from heaven, and the powers of the heavens shall be shaken. And then shall appear the sign of the Son of Man in heaven, and then shall all the tribes of the earth mourn, and they shall see the Son of Man coming in the clouds of heaven with power and great glory. And he shall send his angels with a great sound of a trumpet, and they shall gather together his elect from the four winds from one end of heaven to the other." Within the limits of sober reason it would be impossible to present a more grandly sublime and dignified description of the final catastrophe than is here presented. He alone who can view with equal eye the fall of a sparrow and the dissolution of my-

riad worlds could have indicted such a description. The transition from this marvellous height of appalling sublimity to a familiar illustration is not less striking. The words of Jesus had fallen on the ears of his disciples like the mysteries of the unseen world. These wonderful cycles,—this transcendent description wrought out from the very bosom of real historical currents of the revolving years not yet evolved was to them a parable of profound mystery. Were the words of Jesus figurative or real? Such doubts, if they arose, were at once dispelled by his illustrating and identifying the prophetic narrative with a real nature-process plain to the comprehension of the humblest capacity. "But from the fig tree learn the parable, *Ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς συκῆς μάθετε τὴν παραβολήν.*" Such is the language of Jesus as recorded by the apostle Matthew, when now [*ἤδη*] his branch, *γένηται ἀπολὸς*, is become tender, *καὶ τὰ φύλλα ἐκφυῖ*, and leaves are put forth, ye know that summer is near. And so also in the Vulgate, "*Ab arbore autem ficī discite parabolam cum jam ramus ejus, tener fuerit et folia nata scitis quia prope est aestas.*" The authorized English translation reads thus: "Now learn a parable of the fig tree. When his branch is yet tender and putteth forth leaves ye know that summer is nigh." It is important to have a clear understanding of this 32d verse, as its contents are used as a touchstone or test to make more obvious the sense of Jesus' words in the foregoing prophetic narrative. In view of this the authorized English translation is not a happy one. Verse 33: "So likewise ye, when ye shall see all these things, know that it is near, *even* at the doors." Spiritual things come not by observation. The thought is here emphasized that the things which Jesus had described were realities which would be visible to the eye, obvious to the sight, and not magical signs outside of nature-processes,—that they would come progressively, gradually assuming a form of visibility as clearly indicating their advent as the vernal processes of the fig tree,—first the tender branch and then the full-blown leaves. As the things described would come like nature-processes, so like these they would have

a beginning and ultimately a final termination in time. This is finely brought out by the demonstrative pronouns *οὗτος* neuter-plural *ταῦτα*; THESE in the 34th verse, and *ἐκεῖνος*—feminine form *ἐκείνη*—THAT in the 36th verse; the *ταῦτα* referring to the nearer, and the *ἐκεῖνης* to the more distant; and such is the essential meaning of these demonstrative pronouns when correlative to each other. The one points to that which is near, the other to the more distant and emphatic. The disciples had inquired, "When shall these things be?" When shall these things come? For this is the point of the inquiry. Jesus now answers this question in the 34th verse: "Verily, I say unto you, this generation shall not pass till all THESE things be come, *γένηται*." This verb *γένηται*, in the authorized English version is translated "be fulfilled;" but this is obviously inaccurate and misleading. The verb *γεννῶμαι* or *γίνομαι*, when used in reference to men, ordinarily imports birth or origin, and when it is used in reference to events it means, to occur, to arrive, to happen, to be. The disciples inquired, "When shall these things be?" Jesus is here answering that question. He uses the most precise terms: "This generation shall not pass till all THESE things be come," or arrive, or happen. Doctor Martin Luther, in the German version, uses these words: „bis daß dies alles geschehe;" and in Weber, a reliable German dictionary, the verb *Geschehen* is translated, "to come to pass, to happen, to arrive;" and in the French New Testament the word "arrivent" is used, which is the equivalent of the English word "arrive",—to reach a point by progressive motion; the Vulgate "*donec omnia hæc fiant*." That the verb *γενηται* here means, to come to pass, or arrive, is so manifest, that this question will not require much elucidation. John, 13th and 19th verses, "Now I tell you before it come, that when it is come to pass," *ἵνα ὅταν γένηται*, "ye may believe that I am;" John, 14th chapter, last clause 29th verse, "That when it is come to pass," *ἵνα ὅταν γένηται*, "ye might believe;" Galatians, 3d chapter, part of 14th verse, "That the blessing of Abraham might come on the Gentiles," *ἵνα εἰς τὰ ἔθνη ἡ εὐλογία τοῦ Ἀβρααμ*

γενηται; Matthew, 26th chapter, 2d verse, "Ye know that after two days," τὸ πάσχα γίνεται. Ut supra, 32d verse, ὅταν ἤδη ὁ κλαδος αὐτῆς γενηταὶ ἀπαλος. The whole complex of universal nature in its onward movement constitutes but one cycle,— "through the ages one increasing purpose runs." Jesus presented this vast composite assemblage of things, in so far as they pointed to the sign of His coming and of the end of the world, in three several aspects, so as to bring the whole nearer to the level of human comprehension. These subsidiary cycles stand side by side, and are but parts of one great whole. Hence in the 34th verse, Jesus, with strict propriety restores the synthesis when he said, "Verily, I say unto you, this generation shall not pass till ALL THESE things be [come, γενηταὶ] fulfilled. Heaven and earth shall pass away, but MY words shall not pass away," πάντα ταῦτα, all these, embraces the whole complex of things mentioned in the three cycles, and the underlying idea evidently is that the advent of these cycles now re-united as one whole would occur during the time of the generation then living. For Jesus further said, as his words are recorded in the 36th verse, "But of THAT day and hour, Περὶ δὲ τῆς ἡμέρας ἐκείνης καὶ τῆς ὥρας, knoweth no man [no one], no not the angels of heaven, but My Father only." THAT day, in the 36th verse, is in contrast with "these" in the 34th verse, and points to the final consummation of terrestrial life, when standing, as here, in apposition to the ταῦτος neuter plural ταῦτα which marks the advent of the things narrated in these cycles. Jesus had described the progress of the cycles down almost to the very verge of time, and when, as here, it is said that the day and the hour are alone known to God the Father, the coupling of the hour with the day seems to point to the fact that it belonged to the Father to determine this final precise point of time. Dr. Martin Luther, as reported in Lange's Commentary on Matthew, perceived with admirable sagacity the correct idea which underlies the representation contained in this 34th verse: "All will *begin* to take place now in this time while ye live; that is, ye will survive the beginning of these events." So,

also, Starke, Lisco, and Gerlach. I regret that I have none of these authors, as it would be very interesting to trace the line of thought which led to such a conclusion, which is, in my judgment, undoubtedly correct. The fact has not been overlooked that the Evangelists Mark and Luke have also given an account of the words of Jesus on this memorable occasion; but it would require a separate and independent article to show that there is no conflict in either of the other Evangelists with the narrative of the apostle Matthew as here understood. Matthew is elaborate and systematic; Mark and Luke have preserved some things which the apostle Matthew has omitted, but are wanting in strict systematic statement. I see in the three narratives a beautiful and divine whole, each shedding rays of light on the other. The apostles and evangelists have related with great fullness the words of Jesus respecting Heavenly things. This discourse, while responsive to the inquiry of the disciples, also brings into view, in language beautiful and poetical, the oneness and pre-established order of the universe.

‘Ορᾶτε μὴ θροεῖθε
 Δεῖ γὰρ πάντα γενέσθαι
 Ἄλλ’ οὐπω ἐστὶ τὸ τέλος.

And in the description of the events looking to the final catastrophe, there is no world in all the boundless realms of space which remains unmoved. An eloquent poet of our own age speaks of these things with might and grandeur:

“Thunder and darkness, fire and storm
 Lead on the great and dreadful day.”

But his conceptions are limited to this earth-world. Science presupposes and rests on the idea of the oneness and uniformity of the universe. Even Aristotle, the pupil for thirteen years of Plato, and the instructor of Alexander the Great, the most scientific of the ancients, failed to perceive the uniformity of nature and the totality of things in that clear sense in which it is now apprehended by modern thinkers. His conceptions of matter and form, of potentiality and actuality, and the vague

notion that there was an inherent stubbornness in matter which did not at all times yield to the power of law involved with him the idea of a duality in nature. Jesus, with omniscient eye, while not overlooking the convulsions on this planet, saw in the destruction of our world an all-comprehending universal disaster extending from world to world and from sun to sun, involving even the invisible [*δυνάμεις*] powers of the heavens which hold all things in equilibrium. Astronomers, after long and laborious calculations and many observations, have determined the path of the planets in their orbits. Jesus, by the immanent power of His divine cognition, grasped the whole complex of nature, *das Weltall*, in one view, and without labor or effort announced, with apodictic certainty, the coming events. With the clearest consciousness of the *Unveränderlichkeit* of His predictions He counts the stability of heaven and earth less enduring than His words. The permanence of these things transcends the power of our conception of time and yet poised against the immutability of His words, they are but evanescent shadows which quickly pass away—cyphers of time brought against infinity of duration. "Heaven and earth shall pass away, but My words shall not pass away." Surely here is heard "*Major humana vox*"—rising above the realm of mere sublimity, it is Godlike.

This prophecy of Jesus has already been partially fulfilled in the destruction of Jerusalem and in the long-continued subjection of the country and capital of the Jews to the rule and tyranny, first of the Romans, then of the Saracens, and afterwards of the Turks, and in the captivity and dispersion of the Jews among all nations. Through the lapse of so many ages any other race would have lost its identity. The Jew, wherever he is found, is a living monument of his Abrahamic descent, and of some paternal chastisement which has fallen on the race, mysterious to the Jew, who is under a veil, but clear to the Gentile Christian. Neither the misdirected zeal of the Christians to restore the Holy places, nor the malignity of the apostate Julian, nor the yearning of the devout Jew for his

native land has been able to turn aside the current of history or to repristinate the Davidic monarchy. And if the construction which has been given to the 5th verse of this chapter be correct, every page of ecclesiastical history attests the fact that many have come in the name of Christ who have taught that He is the true Messiah, and yet have led many astray. This partial fulfillment of the prophecy adds its weight to the gravity of Jesus' words, and is a solemn earnest that in due time all will be fulfilled. All the cycles, although synthetically considered, but one, began during the lifetime of the generation then living, coincident in time "on they move indissolubly firm," bound up in the history of the world, and will finally reach the appointed goal.

ART. VI.—EARLY GERMAN HYMNOLOGY OF PENNSYLVANIA.

BY REV. J. H. DUBBS, D. D.

It was remarked by Robert Proud, who wrote before the American Revolution, that "in Pennsylvania there is a greater number of religious societies than, perhaps, in any other province throughout the British dominions . . . yet it is apprehended there is not more real harmony known anywhere in this respect, even under the most despotic hierarchies." "Here," he adds in his quaint and peculiar style, "are the Quakers, who were principally the first settlers; the Episcopalians according to the manner of the Church of England, and the German and Swedish Lutherans; the Presbyterians or Independents of various kinds and the German Calvinists (*i. e.* Reformed), and the Church of Rome and the Jews; the Baptists of various kinds, with those among the Germans called Mennonists and Dunkards, or Dimplers; the Moravians and Schwenkfelders; besides the Aborigines of America, etc."

The history and peculiarities of the German churches of Pennsylvania, here so oddly grouped and enumerated, suggest a field of study which has never been properly cultivated. Their Hymnology, for instance, has, so far as we know, never received systematic treatment. Some five years ago Dr. Oswald Seidensticker, of the University of Pennsylvania, published in German, in the "*Deutsche Pionier*," a series of articles on "*German-American Bibliography*" which throw much light on this obscure subject; but these articles are now out of print and very difficult to obtain. Some information may, of course, be gleaned from the Prefaces of German hymn-books and the writings of foreign hymnologists, but the subject still demands original investigation. At present we can hardly hope to do more than to give an account of the various German hymn-books which were printed in this country during the last century. These were, in many instances, hardly more than reprints of books which the early settlers had brought with them from the fatherland, with occasional original hymns inserted here and there without any indication of authorship. Under these circumstances our subject can hardly be exhaustively treated, but we can, at any rate, indicate the direction of future studies. The numerous articles which have recently been written concerning the hymnology of the English churches of America would seem to suggest that something should be done, however imperfectly, in behalf of the Germans.

In common speech, the Germans of Pennsylvania are said to be ecclesiastically divided into two great classes: "Church-People" (*Kirchen-Leute*) and "Sect-People" (*Sekten-Leute*). This distinction, though in some respects objectionable, is older than the settlement of the State. It was brought over from the fatherland, where there could be no question with regard to its meaning. The "Church-People" were, of course, those who maintained their allegiance to the established churches: Lutheran and Reformed. The Roman Catholics might also, from this point of view, have been termed "church-people," but in America they were so few in numbers and so thoroughly

isolated, that they were generally known only by their proper name. The term "Sect-People" was not employed, in earlier times, by way of reproach. It simply indicated that these people were "Separatists," who were not satisfied to submit to the established ecclesiastical order, and was, therefore, nearly equivalent with the English term "Dissenter." The sects were of many varieties, some of which have long since become extinct. Among them were "Quietists," who sought the western wilderness for the purpose of silently awaiting the speedy coming of the Lord; others like the Moravians, were full of holy zeal for the conversion of their fellow-men; but there were also others who seem to have inherited a considerable portion of the fanatical spirit of the Anabaptists of the sixteenth century. The Church-People (Reformed and Lutheran) soon became most numerous and influential; but the sects were first in the field, and their hymnologic productions were so varied and curious that in the present article they will necessarily claim the greater part of our attention.

A few words of introduction may be necessary to the comprehension of the peculiarities of the German Separatists, who, at the invitation of William Penn, found a refuge in Pennsylvania. When the treaty of Westphalia in 1648 concluded the Thirty Years' war, liberty of conscience was allowed to the three great religious parties, Catholics, Lutherans, and Reformed, and protection was promised to the Jews. The Anabaptists were, however, expressly excluded from the terms of the treaty, and it was even made the duty of the various governments to prevent them from holding religious assemblies. The rulers of Europe had not forgotten the excesses of Thomas Münzer and John of Leyden, and could not be convinced that under the influence of Menno Simon (properly Symons) the majority of the people popularly known as Anabaptists had become the mildest and gentlest part of the German nation. Sometimes the ruling powers seemed disposed to ignore their existence, but frequently they were compelled to suffer violent persecution. Little fragments of the early warlike Anabaptists

still lingered here and there in Germany, and whenever the government came into collision with these rebellious spirits, the peaceful Mennonites were made to suffer with them. Official protection was accorded to the Mennonites only in four small provinces,—Holstein, Cleves, Moers (including Crefeld), and Wied,—but they were generally tolerated in the Free Cities, and in Holland they secured so great a degree of liberty that they grew to be a wealthy and important body. They were regarded as a peculiar people, non-resistant, but cherishing their peculiar traditions with peculiar tenacity; and wearing garments like those which had been worn by the peasants of the previous century. They practised adult baptism only, but did not regard immersion as essential to its proper observance. Church Discipline was carried out among them with a degree of strictness that was unknown in the established churches; but on this subject there was an early schism whose effects may be traced even at the present day.

The Mennonites were the most numerous of the German sects which were prominent in the early history of Pennsylvania. Most of the others were less ancient, and derived their origin from the religious movement which was commonly known as Pietism. This great awakening is generally held to have been inaugurated by Jean de Labadie (1610-1674), but its most distinguished exponents were Philip Jacob Spener (1635-1705) in the Lutheran Church, and Gerhard Tersteegen (1697-1769) in the Reformed. The good effects of Pietism in the promotion of vital piety are universally acknowledged, but it cannot be denied that it bore with it elements which rendered it liable to run into the wildest extremes and excesses. Koch, in his "*Kirchenlied*," recognizes three parties among the Pietists: 1. The Mystics. 2. The Pietists Proper, and 3. The Moravians. The second of these parties, which among the Reformed, was generally known as "*die Feinen*," remained in connection with the established churches, and became the means of awakening them to a new life. The Moravians, it should be remembered, were historically connected with the

most ancient forms of Protestantism, and it was only as reorganized and influenced by Count Zinzendorf and his coadjutors that they could be accounted Pietists. It is, however, principally with the Mystics, who soon broke up into numerous sects, that we are concerned on the present occasion.

It is necessary to the proper understanding of German Mysticism, to take into account the immense influence of the teachings of Jacob Boehme (1575-1624), who is sometimes called "the inspired shoemaker of Goerlitz." To give even a brief account of this wonderful man would be impossible in our present limits. He was, as Emerson says of another and a greater mystic, "a philosopher who projected his metaphysics on the clouds." Believing that God had "given unto him to comprehend the centre of all things," he professed to reveal the mysteries of nature and of grace. His disciple Gichtel informs us that, though imperfectly educated, he had in his youth carefully studied the writings of Paracelsus; and it has been remarked by a modern writer that "his views when closely analyzed bear a close resemblance to the fundamental doctrines of the speculative system of Hegel," who himself calls him "ein gewaltiger Geist." His style is, however, so overloaded with quaint and obscure metaphors, it contains so much that appears to be borrowed from the cabalists and alchemists, that the average modern reader can hardly expect to do more with his writings than to pick out here and there some precious jewel of thought which abundantly testifies to the transcendent genius of the mind that produced it. It is as though some great master of harmony had attempted to render his grandest compositions on a rude and imperfect instrument, where the most delicious strains were constantly interrupted by the sharpest discords.*

Boehme's writings—and especially his "*Morgenröthe*"—were

* For information concerning Boehme see the memoirs written by Frankenberg and de la Motte Fouque. Also Dorner's "Person Christi," Goebel's "Christliches Leben," the encyclopædias, and especially a series of articles by "W. J. M." in Schaff's "*Kirchenfreund*."

well suited to the taste of their age, and were studied by the learned and unlearned. To many of the pious peasantry they came with all the force of a divine revelation, and they unhesitatingly accepted them as a key and commentary to the Sacred Scriptures. Though the disciples could not fathom the meaning of the master, they had at least the consciousness of standing on the verge of a great mystery, and imagined that through the darkness they could catch glimpses of the "morning-redness" that heralded the everlasting day.

In various places throughout Germany, and elsewhere, circles were formed for the study of the word of God with the aid afforded by the writings of Boehme. The most important of these was the "Philadelphian Society," which in time became the fruitful mother of sects. Its formation was first suggested by the celebrated Eleonore von Merlau (wife of the chiliast, Dr. Petersen), who claimed to be a prophetess, and accordingly announced the speedy advent of a period when the "old church of Sardis should be supplanted by the new church of Philadelphia." To prepare the way for this grand epoch, a Philadelphia society was founded in London by Jane Leade, assisted by John Pordage and John Bromley. Branches of this society were soon organized at various places in Holland and Germany, and some of these developed into separate sects, which generally enjoyed but a brief existence. Among them we may mention the "Inspired" (*die Inspirirten*), Ronsdorfers, Ellerians, and others, which were transplanted to Pennsylvania, but failed to grow on unaccustomed soil. All of these sects regarded their leaders as directly inspired, or illuminated, by the Holy Spirit.

Alexander Mack and seven others founded at Schwarzenau, in 1708, a society for the study of the Scriptures, that closely resembled the Philadelphia societies, if it was not directly connected with them. The result of their studies was the organization of a sect which was called by its founders "Brethren." They were, however, often called "New Anabaptists," and were popularly known as "Dompelars," or "dippers,"

pers," from their practice of baptism by immersion; which name appears to have been corrupted in America into Tunkers, Dunkers, or Dunkards.* With their numerous external peculiarities we are not at present concerned; it is more to our purpose to observe in their writings how fully they were under the influence of the spirit of Jacob Boehme.† This fact must be distinctly kept in mind, if we would appreciate the peculiarities of their hymnology.

It is well known that Mack's whole society emigrated to America, but it is rather amusing to find on the records of the Reformed Synod of Solingen, in 1719, a resolution directing the churches to return thanks, because the Dompelars of Crefeld have run away and sailed to Pennsylvania. These rejoicings were rather premature, as it was not until 1729 that the last of the "Dompelars" set sail for America.

In America the "Church of the Brethren" prospered greatly, gathering into their communion many scattered members of the various mystical German sects. Within a few years of the first settlement there was, however, a violent controversy concerning the proper day for the observance of the Sabbath, which resulted in the separation of the party known as the Seventh-Day Baptists. The latter body adopted the seventh day of the week for public worship in 1728, and in 1732 organized a monastic order at Ephrata, which in its rules and observances closely resembled the Capuchins or White Friars. Such Protestant orders were by no means unknown in those days, even in America, and we need but refer to the monastery of the "Woman in the Wilderness," on the Wissahickon, near Philadelphia, and the somewhat similar institution founded by the Labadists at Bohemia Manor, in Maryland.

Conrad Beissel (1791-1768) was the founder and first prior of the "Order of the "Solitary" at Ephrata. He was a na-

* The term appears to be of Dutch origin, but is plainly allied to the German verb "*tunken*," to dip.

† The writer has in his library several copies of books written by Boehme, printed by the "Brethren" in America and extensively circulated by them.

tive of the Palatinate, and had been in his youth a member of the Reformed Church. As he possessed wonderful facility in versification, and was withal a fine musician, one of his first objects was to provide his society with hymns that were permeated by his own peculiar mystical spirit.

THE EPHRATA HYMN-BOOKS.

The earliest volumes printed for the Ephrata society, of which there are extant examples, issued from the press of Benjamin Franklin. As there was at that time no font of German type in America, the characters employed were Roman. The titles of these books are long, and according to the peculiar taste of the age, are in many instances rhyming or alliterative, so that we will give only so much of the title as will insure the recognition of the book. The first of these Franklin imprints is dated 1730, and is entitled "*Göttliches Liebes und Lobes Gethöne*," or, in English, "Divine Melodies of Love and Praise." The only copy of this book of which we have any knowledge is in the celebrated library of Mr. Abraham Cassel. We have not had an opportunity of examining it. The second book of the series is dated 1732, and is called "*Vorspiel der Neuen Welt*," that is, "Overture of the New World." In 1736 still another volume was issued from the same press, entitled "*Jacob's Kampf und Ritter Plantz*," "Jacob's Scene of Conflict and Knighthood." These volumes are all hymn-books, consisting principally of original hymns, written it may be presumed, by Conrad Beissel. Many of them are addressed to Sophia, or Sophie, a personification of the Wisdom of the Book of Proverbs, who is here represented as a female personage of extraordinary grace and beauty, with whom the poet is violently enamored. Thus, for instance, he sings:

"Fairest Sophie, may the longings
That within my bosom rise,
May a heart that loves thee dearly,
Win me favor in thine eyes."

Some of these hymns, or ditties, it must be confessed, are so "realistic," in the most recent sense of the word, that it would require some boldness to translate and publish them.

The Ephrata community was probably not fully satisfied with the books published by Franklin. They, no doubt, desired to have their hymns brought together into a single volume, and printed in the German character, with which they were most familiar. In 1739 a larger volume was published for the Ephrata society of Christopher Saur, of Germantown. Its title is "*Zionitischer Weyrauch's Hügel, oder Myrrhen Berg,*" that is, "Zion's Hill of Incense or Mountain of Myrrh." It is a well-printed 12mo. of 792 pp., not including preface and index, and contains 654 hymns, besides an appendix entitled "The Rod of Aaron," with 37 hymns. The book is divided into thirty-three sections, a few of which are entitled as follows: "1. Aurora, or Beginning of the Light of God. 2. The Clearness of the Light. 3. The Gates of the Abyss are opened. 4. Foretaste of Paradise. 5. The Holy Sabbath and its Profound Peace. 6. Love and Spiritual Stillness. 7. The Virgin's Betrothal in the New Covenant, confirmed by the Water of Baptism. 8. The Excellence of Celibacy, and what it means to become one with Christ in Spirit." In this way the sections run on to the end of the volume. The book is dedicated to "all the solitary turtle-doves that coo in the wilderness," and the turtle-doves of Ephrata certainly themselves kept up a billing and cooing that made the forests ring.

The Ephrata hymns are not of a high order. The following rough version of the first two verses of No. 227 gives a good idea of their general character:

"Awakened by the midnight cry,
The virgins know the morn is nigh,
For now the watchman's call they hear
That will not cease till day appear.
No more shall slumber close their eyes,
The bridegroom comes! The sun will rise!

The splendor of their garments bright
Scatters the darkest shades of night;

The lamps now burning in their hand
Send forth their light to every land;
That men may see, with one accord,
How ransomed saints await the Lord."

About a year ago a copy of the "Weyrauch's Hügel" was secured by the Philadelphia Library, on which occasion Mr. Samuel W. Pennypacker contributed to its bulletin an interesting bibliographical note, from which the following is an extract:

"There are a number of facts in the bibliographical history of the '*Weyrauchs Hügel*,' any one of which would be enough to make it a remarkable production. It was the first book printed in German type in America. It was the first book from the justly celebrated and prolific Colonial press of Saur, of Germantown. A letter from Germantown, dated November 16th, 1738, and published in the *Geistliche Fama*, a European periodical of the '*Inspired*,' says: "We have here a German book-publishing house, established by Saur, and the Seventh-day Baptists have had a great hymn-book printed, of old and new hymns mixed.' In rather a curious way, it led to the establishment of the Ephrata press. The thirty-seventh verse of the four hundredth hymn runs as follows:

*'Sehet, sehet, sehet, an!
Sehet, sehet an den Mann!
Der von Gott erhöret ist,
Der ist unser Herr und Christ,'*

which, literally translated, is:

*'Look, look, look,
Look, look upon the man:
He is heard by God;
He is our Lord and Christ.'*

"The compositor asked Saur whether he thought that more than one Christ had appeared. Saur inquired of him why he suggested such an idea; when the man pointed out this verse, and said it appeared to him that by it Conrad Beissel, the founder of the Ephrata cloister, meant himself. Saur wrote this to Beissel, and asked whether it had any foundation; whereupon Beissel replied to him that he was a fool. This language did not please Saur, who soon after issued a pamphlet censuring Beissel, saying, among other things, that his name contained the number six hundred and sixty-six of the beast of the Apocalypse, and that he had received something from all the planets—from Mars his strength, from Venus his influence over women, and from Mercury his comedian tricks.' Beissel became quite angry, and one of the results of the widening breach was a new press at Ephrata. The '*Weyrauchs Hügel*' is the

largest and most important collection of Hymns of the Ephrata cloister. Many of them were written there by Beissel and others, but unfortunately it is not possible, except in a few instances, to determine the authorship of particular hymns. Christiana Hoehn, 'a pious and God-fearing woman,' who died an inmate of the cloister at an advanced age, wrote those upon pages 465 and 456, beginning: '*Wenn mir das Creutz will machen Schmerzen,*' and '*Ich dringe ein in Jesu Liebe.*' A miscellaneous book, beautifully written and illuminated, in the possession of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, contains the music to which these hymns were sung."

We have a theory, based on an examination of several copies of this curious book, that on account of the difficulties with the publisher it was not very favorably regarded by the "Brethren," and was perhaps never extensively circulated. Most of the extant copies were evidently made up of sheets which had been lying until some of them were greatly discolored, and when they were finally put together some of the sheets could not be found. At any rate the Brethren did not cease their hymnologic labors, and in 1747 issued "*Das Gesang der Einsamen und verlassenen Turtel-taube.*" [The Song of the solitary and forsaken Turtle-dove], 4to., pp. 495. This book, which is of the same general character as the preceding, appeared in various editions. In 1755 the rewas a "*Nachklang-zum Gesang der einsamen Turtel-taube,*" and, in 1762, an improved edition, entitled "*Neu vermehrtes Gesang der einsamen Turtel-taube.*" In 1756 we have two small 4to. volumes, "*Das Bruderlied*" (The Brother's Song,) and "*Ein angenehmer Geruch der Rosen und Lilien im Thale der Demuth* (A pleasant Odor of Roses and Lilies in the Valley of Humility." The first of these books is dated at "Bethania," the brothers' house, and the second is said to have been composed in "Saron," the dwelling of the sisters.

The last of the Ephrata hymn-books is the "*Paradiesisches Wunderspiel,*" published in 1766. This is a handsome 4to. of 472 pages, which is especially interesting as containing a brief autobiography of Conrad Beissel. On the title page is a vignette representing a bird's nest on an altar, with the legend "*Invenit hirundo nidum Jehova altaria tua.*"

We have seen it stated, though we do not know on what authority, that the whole number of hymns composed at Ephrata was about 750, of which nearly two-thirds were written by Beissel. In the determination of the authorship of the several hymns there is, however, much room for further research.

OTHER BAPTIST COMMUNITIES.

"Der Ausbund" (The Paragon) is a book of hymns and religious ballads, first printed in America by Christopher Saur, in 1742. There have probably been more than a dozen American editions, and it is still in print. Though at one time extensively circulated among the Mennonites of all kinds, it is now regarded as the exclusive possession of the sect known as the Amish, or Ohmish,* who, we believe, still use it in their religious services.

According to the title-page, the "Ausbund" consists of "beautiful hymns composed in the prison of the castle of Bassau (*sic*) and elsewhere by the Swiss brethren and other orthodox Christians." Besides these hymns it contains a confession of faith by Thomas von Imbroich,† and a series of sketches of Mennonite martyrs, who from their names appear to have been related to many of the first settlers of Lancaster county. It was first published at Schaffhausen in 1583, and has been printed in Basel as recently as 1838.

The "Ausbund" is in every respect a curious book, which cannot be ignored by any one who desires to become familiar with the life-history of the German sects. The writers were

* The Amish are a small sect of rigid Mennonites, principally found in Lancaster county. The name is said to be derived from Jacob Ammen, of Ammenthal, in Switzerland, a preacher of the seventeenth century, who led a reactionary party among the Mennonites.

† Thomas Drucker von Imbroich (1531-1556), who is justly considered one of the chief Mennonite worthies, was pastor of a congregation at Cologne, and suffered martyrdom at the age of twenty-five. His writings were extensively circulated in the form of tracts, and finally acquired a sort of confessional authority.

evidently illiterate, and employed a "*Babylonish*" dialect, but their sincerity and earnestness are everywhere apparent. Their verses are roughly constructed, and mystical contemplation is sought in them in vain, but they tell the tale of their persecutions with a degree of simple fervor that cannot fail to awaken responsive sympathy. In every instance the name of some popular tune is given, to which the hymn may be sung, which produces an effect that is sufficiently incongruous.* Thus, one of the most solemn hymns is to be sung to the tune of "There went a maiden with a jug." It is remarkable that in these hymns there are but few words of condemnation for cruel persecutors; but once in a while the indignation of the poet is not to be repressed, as, for instance, in the following verses from the "martyrs' song" of George Ladennacher and Wilhelm von Kepsel:

"Cologne, Cologne, upon the Rhine,
When wilt thou heed our praying?
When wilt thou cease to drink the blood
Of saints, which thou art slaying?"

Now from thy wicked raging cease,
And from thine evil turn thee!
Or hell at length will be thy grave,
Eternal fire will burn thee."

There are in the "Ausbund" many things which one would hardly expect to find in a Protestant hymn-book, such as stories from the Apocrypha, and legends of the saints. In the ballads descriptive of the sufferings of the Anabaptists, the supernatural is made to play an important part. One of the martyrs, Haslibacher, is, for instance, said to have been visited by the angels, and when he was executed a number of wonderful signs occurred, in accordance with his predictions. These stories were read and sung by the early Mennonite settlers until they became an element in their daily thinking. They

* It has been suggested that these secular tunes were employed in times of persecution for the purpose of misleading their enemies, who might chance to overhear the Mennonites at their devotions. This, however, is doubtful.

must have had a tendency to cause them to regard themselves as an oppressed and persecuted people, long after all occasion for such a feeling had passed away.

"*Das Kleine Davidische Psalterspiel der Kinder Zions,*" Germantown, C. Saur, 1744. 530 pp.

This book was a favorite with Separatists of various kinds, and was an abridgment of a larger European collection. It was produced by the fanatical brotherhood known as "the Inspired," which must have been at one time quite numerous in Pennsylvania, but was generally absorbed, as we suppose, by the new church of the "Brethren. Johann Friedrich Rock (1687-1749) was, if not the founder, the chief leader of this peculiar people, who, according to Goebel, derived much of their spirit from the French "Prophets of the Cevennes." Their inspiration was at times accompanied by violent convulsions. Several of the leaders—Gruber, Gleim, and Mackinet—emigrated to America, and resided in Germantown. Saur was also originally connected with them. In Germany, after Rock's death, they maintained a feeble existence until the beginning of the present century, when they again began to increase and prosper. In 1853, under the leadership of Metz and Weber, most of them emigrated to America, where they founded several socialistic institutions, of which "Ebenezer," near Buffalo, is the most prominent.

Like all the hymn-books of this school, the "Psalterspiel" runs riot in the imagery of the Song of Solomon, and seems "perfumed with myrrh and frankincense, with all powders of the merchant." There is perhaps less extreme mysticism than in some of the preceding publications, and we find no reference to the glories of celibacy. It contains many real beauties, and was for many years a great favorite, having been republished, in America, in more than a dozen editions.

Other hymn-books of the German Baptist sects, "*Die Kleine Harfe*" (1753), "*Liebliche und Erbauliche Lieder*" (1788), "*Unpartheyische Lieder Sammlung*," and others, which we have no room to consider.

THE SCHWENKFELDERS.

Caspar Schwenkfeld von Ossig (1490-1561), was a Silesian nobleman and canon of the cathedral church of Liegnitz. He was for some time a follower of Luther, but having manifested certain peculiarities of doctrine, became involved in a violent controversy with the great reformer, which resulted in his persecution and banishment. His followers, after two centuries of suffering, in 1734 emigrated in a body to Pennsylvania, as the only means of escaping violent extinction. Here they settled in parts of the counties of Montgomery, Berks, and Lehigh, where they have individually become prosperous and wealthy, but have not greatly increased in numbers. Ten years ago the whole number of the Schwenkfelders was estimated at three hundred. A full account of their history and denominational peculiarities is contained in an article by Rev. C. Z. Weiser, D. D., in the "Mercersburg Review" for July, 1870.*

The first edition of the Schwenkfelder hymn-book was printed by Christopher Saur, in 1762, at the expense of certain "united friends." It is entitled "*Neu eingerichtetes Gesangbuch, in sich haltend eine Sammlung (mehrentheils alter) schöner, lehrreicher, und erbaulicher Lieder.*" We are careful to repeat the greater part of the title because there is no intimation anywhere of the religious body for which the book was intended. It is a handsome 12mo., containing 917 hymns, which, according to the preface, are mostly derived from the hymn-books of the "Bohemian Brethren," though there is an appendix containing some of the best hymns of the Lutheran and Reformed churches. The preface is scholarly, and the arrangement admirable.† There is a three-fold index, of melodies, festivals, and first

* See also "*Ausführliche Geschichte Kaspar v. Schwenkfelds und der Schwenkfelder,*" von Oswald Kadelbach, Lauban, 1860.

† The Preface does not claim that the Schwenkfelders were historically connected with the "Bohemian Brethren," but on the contrary speaks of "the peculiar tenets and expressions" of the latter body, which have occasionally made it necessary to change the language of their hymns.

lines. The index of hymns arranged according to the festivals not only indicates hymns proper to be sung on every Lord's Day in the year, but also for many saints' days which are not ordinarily observed by Protestants, and for six annual days of fasting and prayer.

It is only when we come to examine the hymns which were intended to convey the peculiar doctrines of the sect that the book reveals its weakness. Here some of the Schwenkfelders had evidently been tempted to "try their 'prentice hand," and bad work they made of it. It would be impossible to render these verses into English in such a way as to convey a correct idea of the singularly inharmonious character of the originals, but parallels may easily be found in the "Bay Psalm-Book," or the ancient Scotch versions.

Notwithstanding these imperfections, the Schwenkfelder Hymn-Book is, in our opinion, a publication of a very superior order, and a credit to the community that produced it.

THE MORAVIANS.

The "Unitas Fratrum" occupies a peculiarly honorable position in German hymnology. Its history records the names of a long series of sacred poets, whose best hymns are not only sung wherever the German language is spoken, but have been translated by faithful missionaries into languages whose very name the authors did not know. Some of these hymns were written in America, or by men who were prominent in the establishment of the American church, but the relations of the different ecclesiastical provinces have always been so intimate, that to consider them apart from other productions of the same authors would be mechanical and unsatisfactory. The whole field of Moravian hymnology is, however, so extensive, that to do it justice would require at least a volume, and we cannot therefore hope to do more than to indicate its outlines.

The most recent English Liturgy of the Moravian church claims that the "Unitas Fratrum" was the first among Pro-

testant churches to publish a hymn-book. This statement refers to a collection of hymns in the Bohemian language, chiefly composed by John Huss and Bishop Luke of Prague, which was published in 1505 by the "Bohemian Brethren," from whom the Moravians derive their origin. These hymns were well translated into German by Michael Weisse, in a volume printed in 1531, and reprinted with additions in 1544, by Bishop John Horn. We have already referred to these compositions, in connection with the Schwenkfelders, and need only add that they were highly appreciated by Luther, and exercised an important influence on the development of Lutheran hymnology. Herder says concerning them: "In the hymns of the Bohemian Brethren there is a simplicity and devotion, an inwardness and fraternal communion, which we fail to reproduce because we do not possess them." Several of them are still employed in worship,—as, for instance, "*Nun hilf uns o Herr Jesu Christ*," and "*Nun laasset uns den Leib begraben*." The latter is, however, based on the "*Jam moesta quiesce querela*" of Prudentius.

Count Nikolaus von Zinzendorf (1700–1760), who in 1722 gathered the scattered Bohemian and Moravian Brethren, and subsequently organized the renewed "Unity of the Brethren," was himself a poet of no common order. Knapp, in his "*Liederschatz*," enumerates no less than one hundred and thirty-two of his hymns which have become classic; and among these are several which have been well translated, and are found in many English hymn-books. Among the hymns which are most frequently sung in our American churches, we may mention "*Aller Gläub'gen Sammelplatz*," of which there is a translation in the "*Lyra Germanica*:"

"Christ will gather in His own
To the place where He is gone,
Where their heart and treasure lie,
Where our life is hid on high."

Other favorite hymns are "*Die Christen geh'n von Ort zu Ort*," "*Herr, dein Wort, die edle Gabe*," "*Herz und Herz ver-*

rint zusammen," "*Jesu, geh voran*," and "*Der du noch in der letztem Nacht*." The best of them is, perhaps, "*Christi Blut und Gerechtigkeit*," in whose language we were taught to pray, in earliest childhood :

"The Saviour's blood and righteousness,
My glory is, my precious dress.
Thus well arrayed I will not fear
When in Christ's presence I appear."

Dr. Schaff has, however, informed us ("*Deutsches Gesangbuch*," No. 291), that this beautiful stanza is not original with Zinzendorf, but was borrowed from a hymn by Paul Eber (1569).

Unfortunately, there was a period in the life of Zinzendorf, shortly after his visit to America (1741-1743), when he and his followers were carried by their enthusiasm into the wildest extravagancies. Some of the hymns and hymn-books produced during the so-called "*Sichtungs-Zeit*" (1745-1750) are in the highest degree fantastic. Concerning them it is said, in the most recent English hymn-book of the Moravian church, that they were "the outgrowth of a period of sentimental fanaticism," and were therefore gradually suppressed.

The earliest collections of hymns issued by Zinzendorf were not recognized by him as hymn-books of the church. The first book to which this title may properly be applied was published in 1735. It was often reprinted, and we have a copy of the edition printed at Barby in 1757, which contains hymns which are probably unequalled in eccentricity, and which bears the impress of the peculiar "*Blut und Wunden Theologie*" on almost every page. A great improvement was the "London Hymn-Book" of 1753, which contains upwards of three thousand hymns; but the formative period of Moravian hymnology was not concluded until 1778, when Gregor and Spangenberg compiled an excellent German hymn-book, which, we believe, is still in use. No authorized hymn-book for the Moravian church was issued in America during the colonial period, but a small collection, intended probably for missionary purposes and

entitled "*Hirtenlieder von Bethlehem*," was printed by Saur as early as 1742. This collection we have not seen, but it must have been popular, as it was frequently reprinted.

There is plenty of evidence to show that Zinzendorf finally regretted the peculiarities which for a time disfigured the hymnology of the Moravian church, and so greatly prejudiced the early work of missions in the opinion of its cotemporaries. It should, at any rate, be remembered that they sprang from a form of piety which, if for a time morbid, was certainly thoroughly sincere. In an age when one portion of the church was satisfied with a vague idea of an omnipotent Father, and another was carried away by mystic notions concerning the direct and immediate inspiration of the Spirit, Zinzendorf never wavered in his work of directing the world to Christ as the proper centre of its faith and life.

Several of Zinzendorf's family possessed the gift of sacred song in a remarkable degree. His son, *Christian Renatus von Zinzendorf* (1727-1752) was the author of several hymns which are in no way inferior to those of his illustrious father. Among these the most celebrated is "*Marter Gottes! wer kann Dein vergessen*." Countess *Erdmuth Dorothea* (1700-1756), daughter of Henry XXVIII. of Reuss, and first wife of Count Zinzendorf, composed "*Was liebst du, grosser Seelenmann*," and several other hymns which have been favorites in the Moravian church; and *Anna Nitschmann* (1715-1760), the count's companion on his journey to Pennsylvania, and subsequently his second wife, wrote "*Theurer Freund, hier ist mein Herz*." Other eminent sacred poets of the Moravian church were *Johann Nitschmann* (1712-1783); *Christian David* (1690-1751); *Leonhard Johann Dober* (1706-1766); *Baron Frederick von Watteville* (1700-1777); *Johannes von Watteville* (1718-1788); *Matthäus Stack* (1711-1787); *August Gottlieb Spangenberg* (1704-1792); *Christian Gregor* (1723-1801); and *Henriette Luise von Hayn* (1724-1782). These are but a few of the most brilliant names in the annals of Moravian hymnology. Several of them were among the founders of Bethlehem, in Pennsylvania; and Spangenberg,

especially, who was probably the greatest of them all, deserves a prominent place in the history of the State. It is evident, therefore, that Moravian hymnology has been from the beginning, in a certain sense, international, and that it cannot well be considered apart from its European relations.

THE LUTHERAN CHURCH.

In hymnology the Lutherans easily take the front rank among the Protestant churches of Germany and of the world. A German author, who was himself a "Separatist," said, more than a century ago: "The Catholics pray most frequently, the Lutherans are the best singers, and the Reformed excel in preaching." Whatever may be thought of this judgment in all its particulars, there can be no doubt that with reference to Lutheran pre-eminence in hymnology it is entirely correct. From the days of Martin Luther down to the present time the stream of sacred song has never ceased to flow; and of the eighty thousand hymns which compose the body of German hymnology, the vast majority are the offspring of Lutheran piety and genius.

With such an abundance of Lutheran hymnologic material in other lands, it is somewhat depressing to find so little of it in America, during the period which we have undertaken to consider. The wants of the churches in this respect had, however, been so fully supplied by the great hymnologists of Germany, that there was no pressing necessity for the production of new hymns and hymn-books. For many years hymn-books, in large numbers, were imported from the fatherland, and these were no doubt entirely satisfactory. The collection which was generally used was known as the Marburg Lutheran Hymn-Book. It is said to have been first published in 1543, and was no doubt regarded with peculiar reverence. The writer has a copy of the pocket-edition printed at Marburg in 1716, which, it would seem, must have had an antique appearance even at the time of its publication, as it contains many forms of expression.

which belonged peculiarly to an earlier generation. Among other similar compositions it contains the curious bi-lingual hymn which has been ascribed to Henry Suso (1300-1365):

"In dulci jubilo
 Nun singet und seydt froh.
 Unsers Herzens Sonne
 Liegt in *presepio*,
 Und leuchtet als die Sonne,
Matris in gremio,
Alpha es et O,
Alpha es et O."

We can hardly imagine that these "*Mischlieder*" were ever sung in the American churches, but as the book contained upwards of six hundred hymns, including many which are still dear to the German people, there can have been no difficulty in making appropriate selections for public worship.

The "Marburg" hymn-book appears not to have been reprinted in America until 1762, when an edition was published by Saur.* A second edition appeared in 1770. Its popularity is indicated by the fact that even after the appearance of an original American collection, it was once more reprinted, in 1799, by Charles Cist.

The earliest original collection of hymns, designed for the use of the Lutheran churches in America, was published in 1786, "under the auspices of the German Lutheran Ministerium." It is entitled "*Erbauliche Liedersammlung*," and is generally known as the "Muhlenberg" hymn-book, because the preface was written by Dr. Henry Melchior Mühlenberg, "the patriarch of the Lutheran church in America," two years before his death. Though, of course, giving no evidence of the critical research which is the offspring of a later era, this book is re-

* The Saur edition of 1762 is an exact reprint of the Marburg edition of 1716, except that the Latin stanzas of the hymn "*Puer natus in Bethlehem*" are omitted. There is a "*Neuester Anhang*, containing thirty-four hymns, which was probably taken from a more recent European edition. As was usual in those days, there is an appendix containing Family Prayers, Luther's Smaller Catechism, and an account of the destruction of Jerusalem.

cognized as a very creditable production. The preface is signed by twenty-five Lutheran ministers, among whom we recognize two writers of religious poetry whose names deserve to be remembered :

Dr. John Christopher Kunze (1744-1807), a native of Saxony, was for fourteen years pastor of St. Michael's and Zion's churches in Philadelphia. In 1784 he removed to New York, where he became pastor of the Lutheran church, and was for many years Professor of Ancient Languages in Columbia College. He was the author of a collection of German religious poems, which were much admired, and in 1795 published a hymn-book of German hymns translated into English verse.

Dr. Justus Henry C. Helmuth (1745-1825) was a native of Brunswick, Germany, and studied in Halle. He came to America in 1769, and was for ten years pastor of the Lutheran church in Lancaster. In 1779 he became pastor of the German Lutheran church of Philadelphia, and continued in this relation until 1820. During the prevalence of the yellow fever in Philadelphia he manifested much heroism and devotion; and on the occasion of the death of the Reformed pastor, John Henry Winckhaus, who fell a victim to the pestilence, he composed a very beautiful hymn which is preserved in Harbaugh's "Lives of the Fathers of the Reformed Church." He was the author of "*Geistliche Lieder*," 12mo., pp. 200. Next to Muhlenberg, Helmuth was the most prominent man in the early history of the Lutheran church in America.

The old "Muhlenberg" hymn-book has been succeeded by a series of collections better suited to the tastes of later generations; but it possesses an interest, derived from its historical associations, which can never be equalled by any one of its successors.

THE REFORMED CHURCH.

The Reformed churches of Germany and Switzerland, in their earlier history, devoted but little attention to hymnology. Though a Reformed hymn-book was issued by Johann Zwick,

as early as 1540, as a sort of appendix to his version of the Psalms, the stern legalism which then prevailed was opposed to the singing of uninspired spiritual songs. The Reformed church was never entirely destitute of sacred poets, and in certain cities, like Strasburg, where Lutheran influence was strong, small collections of hymns were published for the use of the churches; but as a general thing the devotional requirements of the Reformed people were completely met by the Psalter. It should, however, not be forgotten, that their versions of the Psalms were of a very superior order. Lobwasser's was the one most frequently employed, and though not equal to the French Psalms of Clement Marot, it was very much superior to those employed in the churches of Holland and Scotland. Indeed, there are persons even now who regret that the magnificent psalmody of former times is no longer heard in the German Reformed churches.

It was not until the latter part of the eighteenth century that the Reformed church of Germany began to produce the brilliant series of sacred poets to whom we are indebted for some of the grandest of modern hymns. Under the influence of the great religious awakening, to which we have already referred, the stream of devotion could no longer be contained in its ancient channel. In 1679 Joachim Neander (1650-1680) published his "Hymns of the Covenant," and these unequalled productions may be said to have struck the key-note of subsequent Reformed hymnology.

In an article on "Early Reformed Hymnology," published in the "Reformed Quarterly Review," in October, 1880, we have given a full account of the work of Neander and his successors. In this connection we can but reiterate the opinion, that these great hymnologists exerted an influence on the development of the church which was not exceeded by that of her greatest theologians. The German Reformed church cannot be understood by merely studying the writings of Zwingli, Calvin, and Ursinus; for it was not until it brought forth the Biblical Theology of Coccejus and the sacred poetry of Joachim

Neander that the "ancient stock" began to produce its most precious fruits.

Among the successors of Neander in the field of Reformed hymnology, we can but mention a few of the most brilliant. *Louisa Henrietta, Electress of Brandenburg* (1627-1667) is best known as the authoress of "*Jesu meine Zuversicht*." *Frederick Adolph Lampe* (1683-1729), the celebrated pastor of St. Augustin's church in Bremen, wrote "*Mein Leben ist ein Pilgerstand*," and many other beautiful hymns. *Gerhard Tersteegen* (1697-1769), "the greatest of modern mystics," was one of the best hymnologists of his age, and many of his productions have been translated into English. *Johann Heinrich Jung, called Stilling* (1740-1817), who is celebrated in science and in general literature, no less than in the annals of the church, was also the author of hymns, which are still employed in worship. *Casper Zollikofer* (born 1707), and *George Joachim Zollikofer* (1730-1788), have bequeathed us many treasures of Christian song. *Hieronymus Annoni*, of Basel (1697-1770), called "the pastor after God's own heart," was the author of hymns whose piety and childlike devotion have endeared them to the churches. *Johann Caspar Lavater* (1741-1801), who was called by Goethe "the best, greatest, wisest and sincerest of all mortal and immortal men," and who is best known by the most insignificant of his achievements—the supposed discovery of a science of physiognomy,—is said to have written more than seven hundred hymns. *Friedrich Adolph Krummacher* (1768-1845) and *Gottfried Menken* (1768-1831) may be regarded as leading a more modern school of Reformed hymnologists, among whom may be mentioned Dr. Theremin, Emanuel Fröhlich, Dr. J. P. Lange, Samuel Preiswerk, Dr. F. W. Krummacher, Dr. C. R. Hagenbach, and two gifted women, Anna Schlatter and Meta Heusser-Schweizer. This list, which might easily be extended, may serve to show that though the Reformed church entered late into the field, she has no reason to be ashamed of her contributions to the general treasure of Christian hymnology.

The earliest Reformed hymnal published in Germany by synodical authority is said to have been issued in 1731, at the direction of the Synod of Juliers, Cleves, and Berg. Individual churches had, however, printed small collections at an earlier date, and, for convenience, these were bound up with the psalm-book. Of this character were most of the collections which the early settlers brought with them to America. The most popular was the "Marburg Reformed" hymn-book, of which we have a copy printed in 1746.* The merits of this book were fully discussed, some years ago, in connection with the Liturgical movement in the Reformed church in the United States, so that we need not enlarge upon them. It is, we believe, generally acknowledged to have been a very good collection, containing more of the hymns of the Primitive church than was usual in those days.

The "Marburg" Reformed hymn-book was reprinted by Christopher Saur as early as 1752. It is one of the finest specimens of the typography of that celebrated printer, containing, besides the Psalms and Hymns, the Heidelberg Catechism, Morning and Evening Prayers, Gospel and Epistle Lessons, and the History of the Destruction of Jerusalem. A second (perhaps third) edition was published in 1763.

It is stated on the title-page of the European editions of this book, that it was published "for the use of the churches of Hesse, Hanau, the Palatinate, and other adjacent provinces." The American printer has extended the series by inserting the name of "Pennsylvania," which produces a somewhat comical effect, as though the Palatinate and Pennsylvania were to be regarded as "adjacent provinces."

It appears evident that this book was printed by Saur as a private speculation. In the preface to the first authorized hymn-book of the Reformed church in the United States, there is no reference to these editions, though the writer speaks of the difficulties which have been hitherto experienced in import-

* It is a somewhat curious coincidence that both the Lutheran and the Reformed churches, of this country, should at first have used hymn-books which were printed in Marburg.

ing suitable hymn-books from Germany.* The secret is probably to be found in the fact that Saur was a "Separatist," who was rather fond of saying hard things in his paper concerning "church-people;" or, as Dr. Seidensticker expresses it, though the Reformed and Lutheran ministers had no quarrel with Saur, "they took no pleasure in him."

The earliest American hymn-book of the German Reformed church can hardly be regarded as an original production. It was prepared in accordance with a resolution adopted at the Synod of Reading, in 1794: "Resolved, That a new hymn-book be prepared, of which the Psalms shall be taken from Lobwasser and Spreng's improved version, and the Palatinate hymn-book shall form the basis of the hymns, with this difference only, that some unintelligible hymns be exchanged for better ones." It is evident, however, that the work of revision and alteration became much more extensive than was originally intended. The preface says: "We have chosen the most edifying and best known hymns in the Marburg and Palatinate hymn-books, composed by Joachim Neander, Friedrich Adolph Lampe, Casper Zollikofer, and other godly men among Protestants. To these we have added a number of edifying spiritual songs, taken from the hymn-books recently published in various parts of Germany. The metres are throughout arranged according to the Palatinate hymn-book."

This collection, entitled "*Neues und Verbessertes Gesangbuch*," was printed by Steiner and Kammerer, Philadelphia, 1797. It was an unfortunate period for the compilation of a hymn-book, and it was probably well that it was based on older collections. As it is, it contains a few hymns which were evidently composed under the influence of the Rationalistic spirit which was then prevalent in Germany. Others contain expressions which would be offensive to a more modern taste; but with all its imperfections, the book was in some respects better than the "Chambersburg" collection, which immediately succeeded

* As the Saur editions were, no doubt, out of print, in consequence of the destruction of the printing establishment during the Revolutionary War, it is, of course, possible that it did not occur to this writer to refer to them.

it. It was reprinted in numberless editions, each with a frontispiece representing the Psalmist playing on his harp. Michael Billmeyer, of Germantown, was for many years the publisher. Its use in some of the churches must have continued longer than is generally supposed, inasmuch as a handsome edition was printed, as recently as 1850, by Enos Benner, of Sumnysville, Pennsylvania.

In the present article we have sought to confine our researches to the publications of the last century, and cannot therefore consider more recent collections, which might themselves be made the subject of an interesting essay. We will, however, venture to add that the second German hymn-book prepared by direction of the Synod of the Reformed church in the United States, was published in 1842. This collection was replaced by the excellent "*Deutsches Gesangbuch*," prepared, at the request of the Synod, by Rev. Dr. Philip Schaff, and finally adopted in 1861.

In preparing a sketch of early German hymnology in Pennsylvania, it has been our main object to direct attention to a subject which has been generally neglected. The careful investigation of original sources would, no doubt, reveal many interesting particulars. In a preparatory essay, like the present, omissions and errors are almost unavoidable, as it is only by a succession of laborers that the work can be satisfactorily performed. There are some minds to which such researches may appear dreary in the extreme, but there are others for whom they are possessed of peculiar fascinations. Even the morbid and eccentric forms, in which the devotion of the fathers was sometimes manifested, are not destitute of interest for those who beneath them all can discern the workings of a common Christian life. Above all, every one who has thus silently communed with the worship of former generations, could feel—with the martyr who, as Archbishop Trench tells us, was imprisoned for many years with no companion but his Psalter—that "it bore him, up as a lark perched between an eagle's wings is borne up into the everlasting sunlight, till he saw the world and its troubles forever beneath him."

ART. VIII.—THE GENESIS OF THE EARTH.

BY REV. PROF. J. S. STAHR, A. M.

THE origin of the earth has been the subject of inquiry and speculation among thoughtful men of all ages. Around it poetry has woven some of its most charming creations, and philosophy attempted some of its loftiest flights. Pagan mythology gives us one series of accounts. Christian theology, on the basis of divine revelation, rejects all these, and substitutes a cosmogony of its own. Over against both, modern science urges its claims, and proposes to lift the curtain, which like a gloomy pall hangs over the distant past, and to afford us, if not a full survey, at least a good view of the process by which our earth came to be what it now is. As the world grows older, we are told, and scientific investigation more and more unveils the mysteries which surround us, we find that the old belief in an instantaneous creation can no longer be entertained. The more we become acquainted with the structure of the earth, the nature of the different substances that compose it, and the relation of these substances to one another and to the earth as a whole, the more we see that the earth has a history antedating the advent of man, that it has passed through a process of development or evolution, following the law of all development as formulated by Von Baer, *from the general to the special, from the homogeneous to the heterogeneous*, that it has passed by a series of gradual changes, from the formless chaos into the abode of life, the home of beauty, which in its virgin freshness, the Greeks very appropriately called Kosmos.

The myths and legends concerning its origin which are found in the literature of all ancient peoples are abandoned, and however much we may admire their beauty, or extol their naive

* Opening Address before the Students of Franklin and Marshall College.
Delivered September 7th, 1882.

apprehension of profound truths in connection with manifest error, we cease to regard them otherwise than as the puerile imaginings of a primitive age. But the idea of creation, grounded in the religious consciousness of man, refuses to give way before the assaults of materialistic opponents. Nor do we see any reason why it should give way. It is sometimes said that matter and force can neither be created nor destroyed, and that therefore both must be eternal. But this is a mere assertion. It presumes to know that matter in its ultimate nature is something distinct from force, and then ventures to say that because *we* cannot create or destroy matter, therefore matter can neither be created nor destroyed. But suppose we assume a time when as yet there was no matter, and grant what the religious impulse prompts us to assume, the existence of a personal Being, the embodiment of infinite power or force; who will dare to say that such a Being, out of His infinite fullness, could not have made force assume that form which we call matter? That would be the creation of matter.

It is very true that from the standpoint of science we can only discern changes in matter and force in a previously constituted order of existence. So far as the beginning of that order is concerned, we must confess that it lies beyond the ken of our observation. Creation cannot be demonstrated, and it does not come in the domain of science. And yet it is just as unscientific to deny creation as to claim to prove it. It cannot be disproved, and we can safely say that is the only reasonable supposition that will account for the origin of matter and the constitution of a system of things based on the operation of universal law. Now what reason cannot solve, that we clearly discern by the higher power of faith. "Through faith we understand that the worlds were framed by the word of God, so that the things which are seen were not made of things which do appear." To him who is in the right attitude, divine revelation supplies the full solution of the mystery, and the devout heart freely responds to the sublime utterance: "In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth."

But granting all this, it by no means follows that we are disposed to shut our eyes to the facts which science is continually bringing to the light, and that, accepting the idea of creation, we are willing to throw Geology overboard, and blindly adopt what the Mosaic record has been supposed to teach, viz., that God first called the universe into existence out of nothing and fashioned the formless, chaotic earth in six natural days by a series of instantaneous acts so that it became fitted to be the abode of man who was created last of all in the image and likeness of God. We believe, on the contrary, that the genesis of the earth involved both an act, and a process—an act by which the universe as a system of related forces was objectivized, constituted out of the infinite fullness of the Almighty Creator, and a process of development by which this system of forces finally reached its goal. We do not mean to say that such development is pure evolution in the sense that matter as such, or of itself contains or is “the promise or potency” of all the manifoldness that subsequently appears in the world. The process is one of involution as well as evolution; that is, the whole movement rests in the bosom of the Great Fountain whence it issued, and there is a mutual relation of two factors which do not oppose but supplement each other, which are not apart but in each other, so that as the one unfolds toward its destined end, the other supplies in greater fullness what is needed in the different stages for the perfection of the whole.

We are sometimes told that God could just as easily have made the earth with all its different strata and formations, as we now find them, in a single instant, as He could make it by a continued process, and that therefore it is altogether unnecessary to assume that long periods of time, countless ages must have elapsed before the earth could have reached its present condition. In one sense of the word, I suppose God could have made such an earth in such a way; but really, we say it with all reverence, God could just as little have made the earth as it now is, in six days, or six years, or six thousand years, as He could make in a single hour the tree that has withstood the

tempests of a thousand years, and that bears witness in the very fiber and tissue of its wood of periods of growth and periods of rest, of injuries received and new wood deposited to repair the damage, of cell walls thickened, and wood hardened, by prolonged growth and exposure to the elements, until it has unmistakably become a very old tree. It is related of Dr. Beattie, the poet and philosopher, that wishing to impress the idea of the Creator upon the mind of his oldest son, to whom he had never spoken on the subject, he carefully prepared a piece of ground in a part of the garden where the son was accustomed to play, and then, without his knowledge traced the initials of his name in the soil, sowed some seeds in the letters thus made, covered them with ground, and effaced all traces of what he had done. Some time afterward, when the seeds came up, the son ran to his father one morning greatly excited, saying that his name was growing in the garden. The father seemed to make light of it, but finally went to see it at the son's request, and of course, found that his statement was true. But he seemed to attach little importance to it, saying that it was probably the result of chance, and turning, he walked away. The son followed, pulling him by the coat, and looked at him very earnestly. "Father," he said, "that cannot be the result of chance. Some one must have made those letters grow." "So you think," the father replied, "that what is done so orderly, so regularly, must have been intelligently designed. Now look at yourself, your limbs, the different organs of your body; how beautifully, how regularly you are made. Do you think you are the result of chance?" The boy at once answered, "No," and the father proceeded to describe, and give him the name of the Author of his being, the Creator of the world. So the marks and impressions which we find in the earth's crust must mean something. They are not put there to deceive; they are not mere spots of nature or chance productions of the aggregation of matter. Fossils found in the rock, the impressions made by rain-drops, ripple-marks, and such like, constitute a record of past conditions and stages of the earth which no candid mind

can overlook. Indeed the mere statement of so evident a truth is almost an insult to your intelligence. The day has long since gone by when such things could be put aside by a wave of the hand. When we find the tracks of worms that burrowed in the mud, the shells of mollusks, the scales and skeletons of fishes, the bones of reptiles, birds, and mammals, singly or in complete skeletons, in all stages of preservation, scattered profusely all through the different strata of rock, where they were evidently buried when the rock was slowly forming of accumulating sediment in water, it is easy to see that we have before us the means of unraveling the mystery of the past. "At one time we see before us extracted from a solid mass of rock, a model of the softest, most delicate, and least easily preserved parts of annual structure; at another time the actual bones, teeth and scales, scarcely altered from their condition in the living animal. * * We have insects, the delicate nervures of whose wings are permanently impressed upon the stone in which they are imbedded; and we see, occasionally, shells not merely retaining their shape, but perpetuating their very colors."* And if you once grant that these things are so, you have granted the whole question at issue, you have admitted that the earth has passed through a process of evolution, covering thousands, yea, hundreds of thousands of years.

The beginning of the history of the earth, like that of all other history, is shrouded in mystery, a mystery which science, on the basis of observed facts, will never unravel. We may or may not believe in a nebular hypothesis, the gradual formation of planets and satellites and suns, by the cooling and consolidation of gaseous matter, and the action of centrifugal force upon the revolving mass. But in either case our conclusion rests on analogical reasoning, and on more or less certain probabilities, rather than actual demonstration. Geology as a science must rest on facts, and facts only. Going back in the history of the earth as far as facts justify us, and summing

* Ansted's *Geology*, I. 53.

up the results of our investigation, we may regard the following conclusions fairly established :

1. The earth was once a liquid mass, a fiery ball, the gradual cooling and consolidation of which, under the modifying influence of varying external conditions, gave rise to a series of changes which have continued to the present time, and which therefore embody the whole domain of geology. To account for these changes, if we waive the discussion of life and its effects for the present, we need no extraneous source, or the operation of mysterious causes. They were produced by the action of a few forces, physical and chemical, strictly belonging to matter in the condition which we have named. The first change was naturally a change of temperature ; a cooling in consequence of the radiation of heat into the surrounding space. Several direct effects followed. First, as the surface became cool, it contracted and became solid. (Whether the centre of the earth became solid at the same time or not, we cannot now stop to discuss). Secondly, chemical union took place between different elementary substances, so that the constitution of the mass became more complex. Thirdly. As soon as the temperature fell sufficiently, the water which before existed only in the atmosphere in the form of steam or vapor, was condensed upon the surface, until the earth was almost or completely covered by the ocean. At this point secondary effects commenced. As the crust thickened by cooling, the contraction of the interior produced a strain upon the exterior portions. At the same time elastic vapors commenced to accumulate beneath the crust, either from the melted interior, or steam from the contact of water with heated rocks. By the action of these forces, some portions of the solid crust were elevated above the general level, which then became dry land, while the waters collected in the depressed portions. Frequently, no doubt, the crust broke, and in consequence there were terrific volcanic eruptions. Meanwhile there were also disturbances in the atmosphere, lightnings and thunder that made the earth tremble ; torrents of rain descended upon the surface, while fearful tempests lashed the sea into fury, and

drove the giant waves that attempted to mount the heavens with destructive violence against the rock-girt shores. In this way, and by the disintegrating action of the air, and later the expansive power of freezing moisture, the elevated portions were again worn down, and the resulting material collected under water along the coast line, and formed new series of rocks. There is abundant evidence to prove that there were alternations of level, that elevated portions were submerged, and depressed portions elevated: and so far Mr. Ignatius Donnelly's theory of a submerged Atlantis is not altogether chimerical. But there is equally strong evidence to prove that the actual continental elevations, and the genuine oceanic depressions were outlined very early in the history of the earth, and that they have not changed place since then, although large portions of the continental areas were long, but not deeply, submerged, and rose only gradually out of the ocean. How the continents and oceans were thus outlined from the first we cannot tell. Prof. Robert S. Ball, G. H. Darwin, and others have very recently supposed that the depressions resulted from the separation of matter from the earth, by the conjoint action of the earth's centrifugal force and enormous tidal waves in the substance of the earth itself, before it had become sufficiently solid to resist such action. The matter thus separated from the mass of the earth, they suppose, was consolidated to form the moon, while the cavities on the opposite sides of the earth, largest at the equator, only partially closed up. However this may be, sea and land have had their respective places as far as we can trace the formation of the continents, and an Atlantis could be conceived of only as a portion of one of the continental systems.

2. The forces which produced these changes, chemical and physical, terrestrial and celestial, (that is depending upon the relation of the earth to the other heavenly bodies, producing phenomena such as the tides and changes of climate as in the periods of glaciation, &c.), are the same in kind to-day as they were in the distant past, and they have acted constantly

and regularly from those early ages to the present time. We say the same in kind, and so far forth, the views of Lyell and the uniformitarians have now been generally accepted. It is not necessary to assume that there were vast cataclysms and catastrophes, produced in some mysterious way, or by the action of forces of which we can now form no conception, by which continents were now created, and now destroyed, and the living creatures upon the face of the earth were swept away at one stroke, to make room for new creations, to be followed by new scenes of devastation in succeeding ages.

3. But though the same in kind, and acting constantly and regularly, these forces did not produce uniform effects in the different ages. The effects produced necessarily depended upon the conditions under which the forces acted, and they varied, therefore, both in degree, and in kind. In the earlier ages, as long as the crust of the earth had a high temperature, it radiated more heat, and consequently cooled and contracted more rapidly. The quantity of force directly available for producing geological changes was greater in a given time than later, and produced, also, more violent action. As the crust became thicker, it yielded less easily to pressure, and the tension to which it was subject, accumulated for long periods of time, until finally the strain overcame the resistance, and revolutions or catastrophes occurred, though their extent was not as universal as was formerly supposed. Still there were periods of disturbance, of mountain-making, of crystallization and metamorphism, when the accumulated energies of ages brought forth their results in comparatively short periods. Mr. Clarence King in speaking of the geology of the Rocky Mountains and the Pacific Coast asserts that there were frequently abrupt changes of level over that area amounting to forty thousand feet. Again, the depth of the water, its clearness or turbidness, the kind of life that prevailed to furnish rock material, temperature, quantity of moisture and carbonic acid in the air, and such like conditions, determined the kind of rock deposited, and the rapidity of its accumulation, whether sandstone, limestone, or coal. For

this reason the geologist cannot possibly tell how long absolutely the different formations were in progress, and he must needs speak with great caution when he attempts even approximately to compare the different formations, periods and ages with one another. But knowing how the different strata were formed, and making due allowance for the difference between sandstone and limestone, in their rate of accumulation, such approximate results can be given, and we need not hesitate to say that the whole time involved in these changes, though by no means infinite, is measured by hundreds of thousands, or even millions of years.

4. There are certain stages in the history of this development of the earth, at which new forces made their appearance for the advent of which science has yet utterly failed to account. Such are life and mind as potent factors in shaping the destiny of the world. So far as the origin of life is concerned, geology cannot tell when or how it came; and as to the genesis of mind it has only negative testimony to offer. There can be no intermediate stage between the inorganic and the organic, the non-living and the living; and from the highest animal to man, in brain capacity, intelligence and the moral faculty there is an abrupt transition, and the "missing link," has not been found. But of the history of life, our record has an interesting story to tell, that takes us into wonder-land, and leads us on spell-bound by the newness and strangeness with which we are confronted at every step. We may well say with Bryant, though in a different sense:

"All that tread
The globe are but a handful to the tribes
That slumber in its bosom."

This is true not only in point of numbers, but also in variety. We can in this connection, of course, not enter into the interesting details; we can only give a few general results, summing up what geology teaches on the subject.

The first thing that strikes us is, that in both the vegetable and animal kingdoms, life is not the same, or of the same grade

in the different ages. Beginning with the simplest structures, we find, as time rolls on, increased complexity and higher forms of organization. Plant-life begins with sea-weeds or marine-plants; next we have the lower forms of land-plants, the cryptogams or flowerless-plants, and finally, the phænogams or flowering-plants. During the coal age, when vegetation abounded in more than tropical luxuriance, as far north as the arctic circle, so that vegetable matter accumulated, where the thickest coal veins are now found, in beds from two hundred to two hundred and fifty feet thick, (for it takes from five to eight feet of vegetable matter to make a foot of coal), there were no flowers to exhale fragrance or delight the eye, except such as we find on the conifers or pines of the present day. The earliest remains of animal life preserved for us in the rock are those of the lowest orders—all invertebrates. Afterward, vertebrate animals make their appearance; first fishes, then amphibians, then reptiles, and finally, birds, and mammals. It would be unfair to say that, when we go into details, we always find the lowest species and genera of the different classes first, but taking the kingdoms as a whole, there can be no question as to the fact that there is an orderly development of life from beginning to end, constant, continuous, progressive. We say constant, because it goes forward through all the ages; continuous, because whilst there are many abrupt transitions, and there were periods when large numbers of species and genera seem to have become suddenly extinct in some great convulsion of nature, there is no reason to suppose that life as a whole ever became extinct upon the earth after its first appearance, and succeeding ages only took up the thread of the movement where preceding ages had left it; we say progressive, because all along organization becomes higher and life more intense in the same way that such is the case in the development of human civilization. So much for the fact of development; now as to the method. On this point geology gives no certain answer; it can only say that facts accord or do not accord with certain hypotheses or theories which have been put forward to solve the mystery.

We have already said that the earliest forms of life were simple in structure. This is the same as to say that their functions were general, and that they became more and more specialized in the later forms. There is a striking parallel between the appearance of the successive genera of animals and what we now witness in the development of the higher animals from their embryo. The earlier forms of the former correspond to the earlier stages of the latter, and they look therefore immature and grotesque. For instance, the earliest fishes have cartilaginous skeletons, a vertebrated tail, and the mouth on the under part of the body, some distance back from the end of the head, precisely what we find in the embryo fishes of the higher species to-day. Again, we have said that the first species of a given genus are by no means always the lowest. On the contrary, the earliest species are frequently what are called comprehensive types. They present a combination of qualities and structures that are subsequently individualized, that is, they appear separately in different species. For instance, some of the earliest fishes had traces of lungs, a jointed neck, and a vertebrated tail, peculiarities which disappeared in many of the higher forms, but are characteristic of reptiles. Such forms remind one of a well-studied discourse in which the author first states his general theme, then divides it under different heads and considers these heads singly and in detail. And finally, the whole course of this movement tends towards a certain goal, and that goal is MAN. It is a process of cephalization, that is, nature is literally *coming to a head*. As complexity of structure increases and organization becomes higher, the quantity of nervous tissue increases, ganglions are concentrated to form brain, and brain grows until it comes to its maximum in man. Now what is the law of development, and how does it work? Manifestly it does not work from without, but from within, not blindly or by chance, but as if guided by intelligence, and directed toward a given end. The principle of natural selection alone is inadequate to account for the whole movement, for there are too many gaps in the record, instances where the

higher forms precede the lower, and abrupt transitions where the necessary connecting links are wanting. And if we could conceive of these gaps being filled, geological time, long as we are accustomed to make its duration, would be altogether too short, on the basis of present rates of variation, to make room for reaching the required result. Even in the case of a series of species or genera, which in direct succession differ from one another by a common difference, as for example, the eocene, miocene, pliocene and recent horses, on which Mr. Huxley lays so much stress, there is no proof that they were derived from one another by lineal descent, and therefore the question: "How came these forms into existence?" is still an open one. There is cumulative evidence, however, in favor of the view that, in bringing the work of creation to its completion, and establishing the variety and harmony of animated nature, the immanent Creator was working through the medium of natural law by a process, the nature of which we do not yet wholly understand.

And what shall we say of man? He stands in the natural order, and yet he is not of it. On the one side he is undoubtedly allied to the course of development which we have described, and he has much in common with the animal. But on the other side, he is separated from this order, abruptly exalted above it by brain-power and spiritual endowment, breathing the vital breath of the Almighty Creator, and made for communion and fellowship with Him.

It is a striking fact that with the advent of man there is a sudden turn in the direction of the world's development. Before his time the development of the animal nature had become monstrous—monstrous in shape, in size, and in strength. Think of frog-like animals, the head of which was from three to four feet long; of turtles, twenty feet long; of swimming reptiles, from fifty to seventy feet long; of elephants or mastodons, eleven feet high, and seventeen feet long, beside which Jumbo would have looked small! Brute force held sway, and rapacity and cruel, unrelenting selfishness prevailed on every side.

But with the advent of man mind received the sceptre, and henceforth room is made for the cultivation of intelligence, mildness, generosity, charity. Again, the edict goes forth: "Let there be light," and there is light, and the gentle spirit of love broods over the earth. As if in recognition of the new era thus ushered in, a change comes over nature itself. The size and strength of the fierce monsters in which the life of the earth previously culminated dwindle away, and the animals most useful to man appear instead. Crashaw, paraphrasing the account of our Lord's first miracle, says:

"The conscious water saw its God,
And blushed."

With equal propriety we may say of the advent of man:

"Now conscious nature saw its lord,
And bowed, and tribute brought."

But you ask, how do we obtain the knowledge of these facts which we have here enumerated, as the conclusions of geology? I answer: Simply by studying the structure and composition of the earth's crust. Everywhere, or nearly everywhere on the surface of the earth, after we have penetrated the loose soil, we find the rock layers, to the formation of which we have already referred, regularly arranged in a series like the successive coats of an onion bulb. Taking these stratified deposits all together, they make a thickness of about eighteen miles, while underneath them we find extensive rock masses, not in layers, consisting of crystalline material, which has evidently hardened into rock from a melted state. This is the original crust of the earth, and the layers above it are successive additions on the outside, naturally so arranged, that where the strata have not been disturbed, the oldest are below, and the most recent on the top. Here then we have a record of the changes through which the earth has passed, and by means of the impressions of rain-drops, ripple-marks, tide-washings, and especially fossils and the remains and impressions of plants and animals found in the rock, we can ascertain the physical condition of the earth and the

kinds of life that prevailed upon it in all the stages of its history.

It is true there are difficulties in the way, both in getting at the facts, and then again in interpreting them correctly. If the oldest rocks are eighteen miles beneath the surface, and only the most recent ones on the top, how do we find out what all these strata contain? Digging into the earth will not help us much, for the deepest mines are less than half a mile deep, and in drilling into the rock in boring for artesian wells, the deepest point reached is only about 4,200 feet. The highest mountain peak is only five and a half miles above the deepest oceanic depression, about the same distance below the level of the sea. If we were limited to such observation as these means afford, our knowledge would indeed be meager. Fortunately, such is not the case. Let us recur to our illustration of the coated onion-bulb, and let us imagine that in digging it up it was injured, or a portion of it cut away. If so, we shall find that the successive layers lie exposed at their edges upon the injured surface, and we can examine them leisurely and comfortably. Something precisely analogous to this has taken place in the crust of the earth. Hardly anywhere over the whole surface do we find the strata of rock in their original position. By the action of those titanic forces to which we have previously referred, they have been disturbed, tilted, bent, folded, or broken. Consequently, the edges of the inclined layers, denuded and worn away by the action of the atmosphere and water, are exposed along the surface, where by careful examination and comparison their order can be determined, and their structure, with the fossils which they contain, satisfactorily studied. In all this there is no mystery, no assumption or hypothesis. It requires only the investigation, collection, and right interpretation of facts as real, as securely recorded, and as accessible, as those which furnish the subject-matter of any other science.

It is important, finally, to consider what bearing the facts with which we become acquainted in this way, have on divine

revelation. Do they agree with or contradict the biblical account of the creation? It is not my purpose to enter upon an extended discussion of the relation between the book of Genesis and Geology. Before I say anything else on the subject, permit me to say I that I am afraid we have had too many efforts to reconcile the Bible and Geology, injudicious efforts, perhaps, which only "darken counsel by words without knowledge," by assuming either that they need reconciliation, or that they can be reconciled as they are by finding in one the exact counterpart of the other. I believe that we have to do with two different things, two representations of the same transaction, from a totally different standpoint, and with a different purpose in view, (somewhat like the two genealogies of our Lord in Matthew and in Luke). The account of Genesis is *subjective*, or from the standpoint of the Creator, and is intended to reveal Him to man; the account found in the record of the rocks is *objective*, or from the standpoint of what is created, and deals with effects rather than causes, so as to bring out the relation of the different orders of creation to one another. The former sets the work before us as it developed in idea, enumerates the various momenta factors as so many stages in the progress of the work, and makes them all equal in point of time, each a day's work, the whole culminating in the Sabbath, which gives it a spiritual meaning. The latter does not separate these factors for us, but shows their practical effect in the evolution of the earth with all the forms of life that are upon it. It seems to me that it is a mistake to look for distinct and separate evidence of each day's work in the geological record. The different momenta or factors are all there, but in the actual unfolding of the divine plan, so far as the record goes, we have an uninterrupted process, the result of which, the web and woof, the product of the great loom of time is before us, but the Mystic Weaver that plies the shuttle sits out of sight, and we cannot tell when He rests or how long. In fact, I think, in the whole process He did not rest at all. For while there were crises, and transitions, and catastrophes in the gradual shaping of the work, it

was the orderly unfolding of a plan, not dictated from without, but accomplished by laws and forces lodged within the system itself.

According to Guyot and Dana's scheme, the biblical account divides the creation into two eras, the inorganic and the organic, each culminating in something higher than its own order, and looking forward to a new era. The inorganic era has three stages corresponding to three days: 1st. The creation of light, that is action or energy in matter, resulting in cosmical light 2d. The creation of the firmament, that is the individualization of the earth, or its separation from the universal mass. 3d. The separation of land and water, or the formation of continents and oceans. Going hand in hand with this, we have the culmination of this era in the creation of vegetable life which then looks forward to the next higher stage, the organic era. Here again we have three stages: 1st. Light from the sun, moon, and stars. 2d. The creation of the lower orders of animals. 3d. a) The creation of mammals: b) The creation of man. The last again looks forward to its completion in the next era, the Sabbath.

But in the geological record we cannot definitely separate these eras and say: "Here one ended, and here another began." "Here was the evening of one day, and here the morning of the next." It was formerly supposed that the earth was long destitute of life, even after all the conditions for its existence were at hand. But the more minutely the earliest strata are examined, the more it becomes evident that life existed upon the earth, even in what was formerly called azoic time. For in these strata we find graphite and limestone which, although they contain no fossils in this formation, are elsewhere always the product of life. In some rocks traces of life have really been found, so that we are led to infer that as soon as the earth was fitted to support life, life also made its appearance. Again, it used to be said that at first the earth supported only plant-life, and that animal-life did not make its appearance until a long interval had elapsed. But plants and animals

appear to have existed together as far back as any fossil remains are found, and we have only two reasons for assuming that plant-life was first, in order, viz. : that the biblical account says so, and that in the economy of nature the plant is necessary for the sustenance of the animal. Plants can assimilate inorganic matter, animals must feed upon organic matter. The existence of animal-life, therefore, pre-supposes plant-life, either as preceding it, or existing contemporaneously. The Bible, therefore, is perfectly justifiable in asserting the creation of life at a definite time in the face of the most minute investigations of physical, chemical, and biological science, and in placing the creation of plants before that of animals, because the former precede the latter in idea. Nor is there any occasion for alarm when the Bible asserts that light was created the first day, and the sun, moon and stars the fourth day, later even than vegetable life. So far as science has anything to say concerning the origin of the earth as an independent body, basing its dictum on analogy and probability, it formulates its ideas in what is commonly called the nebular hypothesis. According to this hypothesis the earth is older than the moon and the sun, and it is easy to conceive of conditions that would have made vegetable life possible, or even probable, long before the sun and moon and all the starry host became visible on the earth or assumed towards it their present relation.

Let it be understood once for all that the Bible is not a textbook of natural science, but the volume of divine revelation, given not to reveal certain facts or truths of science, but a certain person,—God Himself,—and His relation to the world, and especially to man. What of it, if, as is sometimes said, the writer of Genesis supposed that he was describing the process of the creation, and thought of the firmament as a crystal sphere, and of the sun, moon and stars as brilliant luminaries set in this sphere to move in their appointed courses? If he did, he but thought and spake as all the world did in his day. But his language and his imagery are only the diaphanous drapery through which the divine truth beams upon the soul.

And this truth is perennially the same, untarnished and undimmed; it is only the drapery that is affected by the advance of science and the changes of human interpretation. Even it, as to its essential meaning, is in substantial harmony with observed facts; and the more we learn, both of God's revelation in the Bible, and His manifestation in nature, the more we shall see that, although they are different, they are in no wise contradictory. The one teaches us to know the Creator Himself; the other makes us acquainted with the method by which He has chosen to work.

There is, indeed, a depth of wisdom, power, and love, in the Great Author of Nature, which man can never fathom, and when He challenges us as He challenged Job of old, (Job 38: 1-11), we can only stand in mute wonder. But at the same time, He is in nature, and a part of His working is laid bare before our eyes. Is it less the work of God, when we see the strata of rock deposited, and life developed according to eternal and immutable laws, than it would be if the same things were accomplished instantaneously? As it is, we see the footprints of the Creator in the rock, and with awe and reverence we search them out.

Pope says:

"Lo, the poor Indian! whose untutored mind
Sees God in clouds, and hears Him in the wind."

Shall we infer from this, as modern "culture" sometimes seems to do, that it is only the untutored mind that discerns God in nature? By no means! Culture should not eradicate, but rather improve and exalt this natural utterance of the heart, and the profoundest philosopher may well say with Cowper, using the words not figuratively but literally:

"God moves in a mysterious way
His wonders to perform;
He plants His footsteps in the sea,
And rides upon the storm."

ART. IX.—THE WORK OF MISSIONS IN THE CHURCH OF CHRIST.

BY REV. A. A. PFANSTIEHL.

IT was Dr. John Hall who said, that "a church that has no missionary zeal is like a body paralyzed on one side." The figure is no more striking than true. The very first convert to Christianity, Andrew, immediately became a missionary. (See Jno. 1: 40). Almost the first work which Christ instructed His disciples to do was to go from city to city, to do missionary work. He sent them out two by two. The very last words which he uttered to His disciples were: "Go ye therefore and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost." Matt. 28: 19. And with this imperative command, as well as most blessed and distinguishing mission, He gave a divinely encouraging promise, which has been a cheer and support to many a fainting heart, which has been the Aaron and Hur holding up the hands of many a wearied Moses: "*And lo, I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world.*"

The church of the Acts was a distinctively missionary church, pushing its conquests east and west with unprecedented courage and conquering zeal. It is true, therefore, that a church without missionary zeal is like a body paralyzed on one side, and that perhaps the most important part of the body. At least the arm that ought to be outstretched to reclaim lost humanity; the hand which reaches down into the horrible pit of sin to lift fallen men out, and which snatches men in danger of eternal death as brands from the burning; the hand which, in response to the Macedonian cry, is extended in loving sympathy to the struggling soul—if *that* part of the body is paralyzed, sad indeed is it for the whole body.

In the last years, at least in some churches, the strong battery of God's Spirit has been applied to the paralyzed part of the church, and the strong currents of vivifying electricity having been forced through it, the muscles were strengthened, the life-blood began to flow through the emptied veins, and the pulsations began anew to be felt, strengthened at every throb of the heart. If the church ever in all its history has shown missionary zeal, coupled with divine knowledge, it has been during the last years. Missionary societies in nearly every church are now the rule. Men, women and children, are called upon to awaken out of sleep, and in response to that call many thousands have arisen as one man, entered valiantly into the battle, and are now marching triumphantly on to victory. May God grant that that army, continually buckling on anew the armor of God, may go forth aggressively against the mighty forces which lie entrenched behind the solid walls of China, are bound by India's idol-worship, lost in Afric's spiritual darkness, and all forms of sin and superstition—bearing bravely forward the banner of the Cross, planting it upon the ruins of all these overcome, until

"Jesus shall reign where'er the sun
Does his successive journeys run."

Let us learn a few lessons in regard to this work of God:

1. *God is not straitened as to means to accomplish his work.*

The kingdom of Christ *shall* spread; the Gospel *shall* be preached to all the world; the Church of Christ *shall* stand; nothing shall prevail against her: not even the gates of hell. These are God's eternal promises. Therefore, although the Roman Empire tried to crush the church with its tremendously powerful arm, however much she trembled and suffered, yet she continued to live, aye, she grew in spite of opposition and difficulty, which none but a divinely implanted energy and life could withstand. She conquered, although God used the weak things of earth to confound the mighty.

Jesus thanked His Father at one time, saying: "I thank thee, O Father, Lord of heaven and earth, that thou hast hid

these things from the wise and prudent, and hast revealed them unto babes." (Luke 10: 21). The reasons why this seemed good in the Father's sight are doubtless, (a) Because God wants to teach man the important lesson that it is not by might, nor by power, but by His Spirit that His work is to be done.

(b) And further, because God desires to encourage the weakest child to do His work. Not, indeed, to exclude the strong and mighty. No. For, if mere *babes* in knowledge and power through the grace of God are called to do this work, and can do it, surely those who are *men* in knowledge and power will be the more able to do it. Were it not that in the providence of God it is true that out of the mouth of babes and sucklings He has ordained strength, (Ps. 8: 2), but that the work was committed to the strong and mighty, the great majority would be discouraged, no attempts would be made by them, and hence not one half the work that is now accomplished would be done for the Lord. For there are very few really great, powerful men. Just as there are but few generals in an army, and the fighting is done by the common soldier, so in the army of the Lord, the real working force lies with the untitled, perhaps unrecognized Christian. And with Jesus we have reason to thank the Father that this is so. For this being true it encourages *all* to work for God; from the youngest to the oldest, from the greatest to the smallest, from the most learned to the most ignorant.

"Every one has talents and time to serve the Lord;
Every one can please Him who will obey His word."

2. Again. *While God has unlimited means at His disposal, He provides work so that these means can be used.*

As fast as the Church grew, was new work put into her hands. After she had conquered the Roman Empire, and she was established there, it was not hers to sit down in ease; it was not hers to lay down her armor because there were no more opportunities to use the means of continued missionary work. God sent down the hordes of Barbarians from the northern wilds among them, and gave the Church abundant opportunity to use the means

which she had at her disposal to Christianize them. And throughout the entire history of the Church we find new avenues of missionary work opened in the providence of God, and so plainly opened that she cannot mistake her duty. If she goes not forward into them she culpably neglects her duty.

In our day God has opened up avenues of work into which she can go and use her increased means of work. Never was the Church richer in money than she is to-day; never was she so far advanced in the knowledge of Scripture as she is to-day; never had she so many adherents as she has to-day; never was she recognized as she is to-day, as blessed in influence upon society and essential to the right advancement of civilization.

But on the other hand, never had the Church better opportunity to use her immense wealth for the spread of God's kingdom; never had she better opportunity to display her vast stores of knowledge to the advantage of Christ's kingdom; never had the members of the church more work to do abroad and at home than to-day.

(a) Take, *first*, the *foreign field*. Commerce has paved the way for the missionary. The heavy gates of China have swung open upon their rusty hinges. Its walls have been virtually razed to the ground so that all can without let or hindrance enter freely into her cities, and the word of God can have free course and be glorified. India's coral strand invites the missionary. For the many Americans and Europeans who have gone there and made themselves homes, prepare the way for missionaries by acquainting the heathen with their presence and manners. Japan has fully awakened to a realization of the superiority of many American and European institutions, and actually invites missionaries to her shores and homes.

And, too, in the providence of God, the facilities for reaching these remote points are so increased that there need hardly be any necessity for hesitation to undertake the journey. Instead of the inconvenient, slow, uncertain sailing vessel, in which months were spent in crossing the ocean, are now offered the palatial steamers affording convenience and elegance. Now in

view of this let us ask, what is the duty of the Church? Need this question be asked? She cannot mistake her duty. With all these doors thrown widely open for her, can she hesitate? ought she to hesitate? DARE she hesitate?

(c) Take, again, the *home field*.

Count if you can the thousands upon thousands of immigrants travelling west to make for themselves homes. These people are the very people who need the Gospel. They have come to a strange country; they have come to meet mountains of difficulties. They are poor. They suffer. They die. What do they need more amid their dangers and difficulties and hardships than the cheering presence of Jesus? What can encourage them more than the Gospel? The Church owes it to Christ, to go to these with the bread and water of eternal life, so that they need not perish in the wilderness. Who can tell how transcendently blessed for their souls is the mission work?

But look at it from a different stand-point. In ten or fifteen years the majority of those now poor people will be rich. They will possess lands rich in cultivation and productiveness. They will have beautiful homes. The Church by caring for them in their poverty and hardships, and thus winning them to her bosom, will have what she spends in this blessed work cast back into her lap increased a hundred fold, which she can use again for the spread of God's kingdom in other destitute portions of the world. The money spent there now will produce compound interest in coming years. But if that work is neglected now, and these people are left without the Gospel, they will not care for the Church; they will grow more and more indifferent to God's kingdom, and that naturally too. If they are ever to be reached it is *now* while they are in need of help, and destitute, and ready to receive aid. And by helping them now in their time of need, they will become devotedly attached to the Church; they will never forget the helpers; they will then in years to come show their gratitude by labors of love for the Church, and by giving of their means. By attending to these matters now, the Church is working for her own good in years to come.

But there is still another consideration which ought not to be overlooked. It is this: A great many of these people come to our country with their foreign prejudices. Germany sends many people with their minds filled with and unbalanced by destructive rationalism. Ignorant men's predilections and prepossessions are of all things most dangerous and hardest to overcome. A great many of these ignorant people come to our country with communistic notions. They come with strange, destructive notions of liberty and independence. *They of all people most urgently need to be taught.* If they are not, there is danger that the country will suffer dire effects. Now who are more forcibly called upon to do this work of teaching and leading than is the Church? I know the State owes it to itself to attend to these matters, and any interference of the Church with the State's work is not here advocated. But we would most strongly advocate that the Church having all this vast mission field opened to her, owes it to herself, to her God, to her country, to evangelize these people, to indoctrinate them with the principles upon which alone all true civilization is dependent for its durability and its proper and full development. God has laid to the Church's hands a work of the last importance in sending these thousands to our shores. And how blessed is the Master's work! How sure its reward. Hear what Christ says: "Whosoever shall give to drink unto one of these little ones a cup of cold water only, in the name of a disciple, verily I say unto you, he shall in no wise lose his reward." (Matt. 10: 42.)

ART. X.—HYMN OF ST. BONAVENTURA.

BY REV. D. Y. HEISLER, D.D.

I.

Recordare sanctae crucis,
 Qui perfectam viam ducis,
 Delectare jugiter;
 Sancta crucis recordare,
 Et in ipsa meditare
 Insatiabiliter.

II.

Quum quiescas aut laboras,
 Quando rides, quando ploras,
 Doles sive gaudeas;
 Quando vadis, quando venis,
 In solatiis, in poenis,
 Crucem corde teneas.

III.

Crux in omnibus pressuris,
 Et in gravibus et duris,
 Est totum remedium;
 Crux in poenis et tormentis
 Est dulcedo piae mentis,
 Et verum refugium.

IV.

Crux est porta paradisi,
 In qua sancti sunt confisi,
 Qui vicerunt omnia;
 Crux est mundi medicina,
 Per quam bonitas divina
 Facit mirabilia.

I.

Bear in mind the cross,—the holy,
 Thou who lead'st the way so lowly,
 Ever make it thy delight;
 On the sacred cross be musing,
 In the same thy mind still using,
 Never tiring of the sight!

II.

In thy toiling or thy sleeping,
 In thy laughing, in thy weeping,
 Grievest thou or joyous art;
 When thou comest, when thou goest,
 Solace or distress thou knowest,
 Hold the cross still in thy heart!

III.

Ah! the cross—in ev'ry pressure,
 Weighty and of endless measure,
 Is a cure complete and rare;
 Yea, the cross, in pains and torture,
 Is to saints a soothing morture,
 Refuge potent in despair!

IV.

Mark the cross—the gate of Eden,
 In it saints, their foes all beaten,
 Victors are—a band select;
 Yea, the cross, earth's panacea,
 Love divine—sublime idea—
 Thro' it wonders doth effect!

V.

Crux est salus animarum,
Verum lumen et praeclarum,
Et dulcedo cordium;
Crux est vita beatorum,
Et thesaurus perfectorum,
Et decor et gaudium.

VI.

Crux est speculum virtutis,
Gloriosae dux salutis,
Cuncta spes fidelium;
Crux est decus salvandorum,
Et solatium eorum
Atque desiderium.

VII.

Crux est arbor decorata,
Christi sanguine sacrata,
Cunctis plena fructibus;
Quibus animae eruuntur
Cum supernis nutruuntur
Cibus in coelestibus.

VIII.

Crucifixe! fac me fortem,
Ut libenter tuam mortem
Plangam, donec vixero;
Tecum volo vulnerari,
Te libenter amplexari
In cruce desidero.

V.

Ah! the cross—of soul's the healing,
Clear and precious light revealing,
Bliss of hearts without alloy;
Life of saints the cross is rated,
Treasure of the consummated,
Ornament and crown of joy!

VI.

O the cross! 'tis virtue's mirror,
Guide of safety, free from error,
Hope of faithful ones, the sole;
Blessed cross—of saints the glory,
And their solace, saith the story,
Wished-for boon of souls, in whole!

VII.

Blessed cross—the true ornated,
With the blood of Christ sacrated,
Bends with golden fruitage fair;
Whence the souls, with hunger riven,
Have supernal nurture given,
Served with viands rich and rare!

VIII.

Crucified! me strength supplying,
That I freely may Thy dying
Mourn till ends my victor-race;
With Thee wounded me desiring,
Thee, upon the cross expiring,
Gladly, Lord, would I embrace!

RECENT PUBLICATIONS.

METAPHYSICS; A STUDY IN FIRST PRINCIPLES. By Borden P. Bowne, Prof. of Philosophy in Boston University, and author of "Studies in Theism." New York, Harper & Brothers, Franklin Square, 1882.

This work cannot properly be called a *system* of Metaphysics, but rather studies in Metaphysics, as its sub-title indicates. Yet there is a system in these studies, too, for they are not thrown together loosely, but with logical connection. The work is divided into three parts: the first treats of ONTOLOGY, including six chapters, 1. The Notion of Being; 2. The Nature of Things; 3. Change and Becoming; 4. Action and Interaction; 5. The Finite and the Infinite; 6. The Nature of the Infinite. Part II. COSMOLOGY, with five chapters: 1. Space; 2. Time; 3. Motion; 4. Matter and Force; 5. The Cosmos as Mechanism. Part III. PSYCHOLOGY, in four chapters: 1. The Soul; 2. The Process of Knowing; 3. Realism, Idealism, and Phenomenalism; 4. Apriorism and Empiricism.

This outline is sufficient to show the rich intellectual feast set before the reader by the gifted author. For we regard Mr. Bowne as one of the best metaphysicians this country has produced, and as able to stand an equal among the best thinkers of the age. We had made his acquaintance previously through his little work on *Herbert Spencer*, which is the best criticism we have seen on that English philosopher's system. He there deals heavy blows against Spencer's agnostic philosophy, pointing out with great clearness his fallacies. He shows in that work, and also in the present, that philosophy is not indifferent or neutral, much less opposed to the idea of God as the Creator of all things. Science, in its restricted sphere, cannot reach the fact of creation; it does not fall within its province to do so: while it is equally beyond its province to deny the fact of creation; but science must reach its proper meaning in philosophy, and philosophy in its last results must posit the idea of a Creator, and then leave to revelation to tell us more fully who and what God is.

So far as we have studied his chapters we can generally agree with the author's positions in this work, and where we differ from him, where he overthrows some of our favorite theories, we are inclined to think he may perhaps be right and we wrong, so much confidence does he inspire by his clear and cogent reasoning. We cannot as yet give up, however, our view of concrete generalities, which, if we understand him rightly, he opposes. In regard to abstract generalities he is doubtless right. "In dealing with universals, the order of thought reverses the order of fact. The thought of the particular is possible only through the universal; but the universal is real only in the particular." We can assent to this statement, as setting forth the doctrine of moderate realism, with its formula, *universalia in re*, as distinguished from the doctrine of extreme realism, whose formula is *universalia ante rem*. But the question then arises whether the author, in any case, makes room for the

objective reality of the universal *as distinguished from, not separated from*, the individual. We are not quite sure we fully understand his position on this point. We understand him to teach that what we call the universal is only the mode or manner of existence and activity as manifested in the particular existence, which we learn from observation, and this then comes to be only a conception in our mind. That would be conceptualism, which the later metaphysics, even in Germany, inclines to. Hence he elsewhere maintains that what is called a potentiality, or an existence in germ, is no real objectivity at all. "We may say, rhetorically, that the oak exists in the acorn; but, in truth, the oak does not exist at all, but an acorn exists. This acorn, however, is such that, under the proper conditions, an oak will be developed. The phrase potential existence is due to an effort of the imagination to comprehend how one thing can develop into another; and the fancy is entertained that the problem is solved if we conceive the future development to be already concealed in the present reality. But, in fact, this view denies development; for, in the case assumed, there is no development, but only a letting loose of potentialities, which are also, and always, realities. Where there is true development, the thing developed absolutely becomes. This notion of potentiality in no way enables the mind to comprehend the process, which, like being itself, is utterly unconstruable. It is something to be recognized and admitted rather than comprehended. The phrase potential existence may be allowed in rhetoric, but it is utterly misleading in metaphysics."

This passage occurs in his chapter on "change and becoming." We do not understand him to deny at all the principle of development, but only the notion that in the process of development there is anything more than the fact of a change of states. He does not allow, as reality, anything in this change that remains unchanged, a principle of identity. The principle of identity he does not allow to have an objective existence in nature, but only in personality. But is it true that *species* is not an objective reality, and only the individuals are objective realities? Does not every concrete existence include the following together (*concretere*) of two principles, the generic and the individual life of the existence? So we believe. When man was created he included in himself both a generic life (humanity, the genus *homo*) and an individual life, not separate indeed, but distinguishable. As an individual he passed away, as the genus he lives on in all his descendants. This generic life is not something apart from the individual life, it is in the individual life, a quality of it, you may say; but it is a reality, a *law*, and that law it is that determines and causes all the descendants of Adam to be born human beings, differing from him in individual peculiarities, but the same in general nature. Mr. Bowne would, no doubt, admit the fact here stated, but he would call this *law* merely the mode by which individual men come to be what they are, and the fact that by the divine power and direction they all become men, similar in general characteristics, involves no objective reality. But here our notion differs from what we understand him to teach, for we regard this law implanted in the individual life a reality. All men are alike human, not merely because natural propagation and the divine activity produce them such, but because God implanted a law in the life of the first man which operates to make all men alike human. This law, or potentiality, we regard as a reality, an

objective reality, as much so as individuality. Hence we hold that a concrete generality, such as humanity, is a reality, an objective reality, and not a mere conception of the mind. There are generalities, such as river, mountain, &c., that are merely conceptions, but we distinguish these universals from concrete generalities.

One other criticism that occurs to us in regard to Mr. Bowne's work, and his writings generally, is, that he lacks the mystical element in his thinking. Not that he does not acknowledge mysteries that lie beyond the reach of human thought in the sphere of philosophy. He clearly points these out when he comes to them. Some things the human mind cannot compass, and he possesses the humility to acknowledge the fact. But what we mean is, that in being clear, he does not do full justice to the intuitional power of the mind as compared with the logical understanding.

Now, all our knowledge leads into regions in which we can know only in part. There is no science even that does not lead to mysteries of this kind, because the finite can never comprehend the infinite, and all truths conduct the mind towards the infinite. This fact is no excuse for a writer or a thinker being *misty*. His knowledge should be clear and well defined. This requires not only that mysteries should be acknowledged, but it implies that our knowledge may include or possess at certain points the quality of being mystical. A philosopher may have a great truth which cannot be made entirely clear to the logical understanding; he may not fully understand the truth himself, and so may not be able to make it entirely clear to his readers; but this is no valid objection to his setting forth the truth in part. Intuition is often brought forward, we know, as mere common sense, as the Scotch philosophy in the time of Reid & Brown understood it, to cut a knot which ought to be untied, and often as an excuse for indifferent or lazy thinkers; but it has a far nobler meaning. Our intuitions go deeper than logical thought is able to follow them, and in expressing them, if thought limps, or becomes mystical, it does not argue a weakness or a defect, but rather a virtue. We feel in reading Mr. Bowne that sometimes his very clearness is an evidence of lack of depth. He appreciates Hegel very highly, and is no doubt just in charging that perhaps at some points Hegel did not quite understand himself, as certainly his disciples did not. But it should be remembered that some of those very principles which Hegel developed, and which are not entirely clear to the understanding, are just the ones that live in philosophy and reveal great power. The discursive faculty in Mr. Bowne seems to us more fully developed than the intuitional element of his mind.

THE REVISED GREEK-ENGLISH NEW TESTAMENT, Containing Westcott & Hort's Greek Text and The Revised English Version on opposite pages, Together with Dr. Philip Schaff's Introduction to Westcott & Hort's "New Testament in the Original Greek." New York, Harper & Brothers, Franklin Square, 1882.

When it is considered that this volume contains the most approved text of the New Testament, and the revised English version, and that the introduction contains in a condensed form the history of the manuscripts and versions, and that the whole is published in a volume which it is a real pleasure to handle, and which forms a real adornment for the library, the external appearance corresponding to the valuable contents, we feel sure that no Biblical student will regret having procured it.

THE NEW TESTAMENT in the Original Greek, By Westcott & Hort, Volume II. New York, Harper & Brothers, Franklin Square, 1882.

The first volume contains an introduction by Dr. Schaff, the same as in the work just noticed, and the Greek text of the New Testament. The second volume is entirely filled with Introduction and Appendix, by the Editors. It is this Introduction and Appendix by the Editors that give this work an advantage over the Greek-English New Testament, while that has the advantage of containing "the revised English Version." Hence it is desirable to have both works. Dr. Schaff's introduction gives the history of the text, this gives the criticism of the text, and forms a most valuable apparatus for this study. The Appendix of Notes or Select Readings is particularly interesting and useful for the student. The two volumes together occupy about the same number of pages as the one containing both the Greek and English text. They are in fine style also, as might be expected from the House by which they are published. We take real pleasure in commending them to ministers and Biblical students generally.

THE SYSTEM OF MENTAL PHILOSOPHY. By Asa Mahan, D.D., LL.D. Chicago: S. C. Griggs & Company, 1862.

Dr. Mahan's work has long been before the public, and this new and revised edition will be welcomed by those who have been familiar with former editions, as well as by students generally. It is not a Psychology, nor exactly a Mental Philosophy, but rather both combined. The subject is treated in three parts: 1. The Intellect; 2. The Sensibilities; 3. The Will.

A SYSTEM OF CHRISTIAN DOCTRINE, By Dr. J. A. Dorner, oberconsistorialrath and Professor of Theology, Berlin, Translated By Rev. Alfred Cave, B. A., and Rev. J. S. Banks. Volumes, IV. Edinburg: T. & T. Clark, 38 George street, 1880, 1882.

This great work has been noticed by the press, and received favorable judgment, generally, and it affords us great pleasure to add our commendation and recommend it to the readers of this *Review*. This is Dr. Dorner's "masterpiece, the ripe fruit of a long and thoughtful life." Dr. Dorner is too well known to our readers to render it necessary to speak at length of the general merits of this work. As an exposition of the unionistic school of theology in Germany it is the latest and best work in the field it occupies that this century has produced. It is fully abreast with the age in all the great questions that have been brought forward in philosophical and theological study in this XIXth century. While it is faithful to the old landmarks of the Christian faith of all ages, it does not shrink from bringing under fresh review and criticism all the dogmas of the Church as apprehended anew in the age in which we live. The doctrine of the Trinity is made fresh and invigorating, not by resting satisfied with merely rehearsing the formulas of the ancient creeds and catechisms, but by gathering up its history and subjecting it to new investigation under the direction of the teachings of the Bible, in the application of the advance made in philosophic and theological thought in the present century. It is particularly strong in the manner in which it emphasises the unity of the Godhead over against all tendencies towards tritheism. Dr. Dorner does not falter or hesitate in setting forth the absolute personality of the Godhead as ONE, while he clearly sets forth also the three *hypostases* of the one personality. The richest chapter on this doctrine is that which treats of the Ethical Derivation of Trinity. On the subject of the Person of Christ we would expect a masterly treatment, as he has made this one of the great studies of his life. The translation bears evidence of much imperfection, but it is perhaps as good as could be expected. Style is not much regarded by German philosophical and theological writers, and a clear and smooth English translation could become satisfactory only by becoming a *reproduction*; but this would not be undertaken by any one; therefore the best that could be expected is a free translation, which yet seeks to be faithful to the original.

There are some words used in the translation, such as *volatile*, which have not become familiar in theological phraseology, and which therefore seem awkward, and should, we think, have been avoided. But with all its defects the English reader will be thankful to the worthy translators for bringing to them so much wealth of theological knowledge in his own tongue. We hope to present some further thoughts on this work at some future time.

EMPIRICAL PSYCHOLOGY; OR, THE SCIENCE OF MIND FROM EXPERIENCE. By Laurens P. Hickok, D.D., LL.D. Revised with the co-operation of Julius H. Seelye, D.D., LL.D., President of Amherst College. Boston: Published By Ginn, Heath & Co., 1882.

This work is designed as a preparation for the study of *Rational Psychology*. Hence, in order to set forth the distinction, the author calls it an *Empirical Psychology*. "It is rather a description of the human mind than a philosophy of it; a psychography rather than a psychology; and should not assume for itself the prerogatives of an exact science." The subject is presented under the general heads, Sense, Understanding, Reason, Will, prefaced by a section on Anthropology, a department not usually treated by psychologists in this country. It condenses the substance of what is more extensively treated in Rauch's Anthropology. Both works here noticed have their respective merits, but a satisfactory work on psychology is, in our judgment, still a desideratum in our American Colleges.

THE CHURCH MEMBER'S HAND-BOOK.—This Manual has already been very favorably noticed in the weekly church periodicals, and we need only endorse what has there so well been said in commendation of it. Something of the kind has been called for, and this little book, therefore, satisfies a want. It contains the Catechism, Constitution, and Forms, of the Church, and is prefaced by a brief, yet comprehensive Introduction, giving a succinct history of the Reformed Church, its doctrine, cultus, &c. This introduction is itself well worth the cost of the book. The author is especially happy in gathering a vast amount of information within a few pages. And it is just such information as members of the Reformed Church need. It gives the origin of the Reformed Church, its distinction from other Reformed churches, and its distinctive doctrine. On this latter subject the central idea of the Heidelberg Catechism is given with much force. While other Reformation confessions emphasize some principle of Christianity that is, more or less, peripheral, the Heidelberg Catechism makes the *Person of Christ* central, and emphasizes the living union of the believer with Him. If there is one leading principle which the German Reformed Church has contended for it is this: Christ is the sum of Christianity. All centres in His person. And this, not as a mere doctrine, but as a living fact for the believer. The *mystical union* of the believer with Christ is central in the Christian life. This idea runs through the Catechism from beginning to end. All other articles of faith centre in this. We congratulate the author for the clear and comprehensive manner in which he has thus set forth the central idea of the Catechism, and the faith of the Church. Let this manual be widely circulated in the Church, and let it also be placed in the hands of those who are not in the Church; because it will serve a good purpose in giving outsiders a correct knowledge of the Reformed Church. We give it our hearty approval and wish it much success on its good mission.

It is for sale by E. R. Good & Bro., Tiffin, Ohio.

ANNOUNCEMENT.

At the late annual meeting of the Board of Publication, Rev. Dr. J. M. Titzel, of Altoona, Pa., was appointed associate editor of this Review. His duties will begin with the first number (January) of the next year, 1883. With this accession to the editorial management of the Review it is hoped that it will be made more interesting to the readers. It is designed especially to give more attention to the Book-notice department. The Board has made some arrangements also which will enable the editors more readily to secure first class articles, and to be somewhat more free in the selection of writers. The editors therefore invite the co-operation of contributors and readers to render the Review in every way worthy of the Church whose interests it strives to advance, and to extend still further its circulation. In proportion as its circulation is extended it will be able the better to secure the choicest articles for its pages. Now that the subscription lists of the other periodicals of the Church are being increased, let an effort be made to do the same thing for the Review. The Church needs a theological organ of this kind, and its friends should put forth efforts to give it the best possible success. Any further statement deemed necessary by reason of this change in the editorship will be made in the *Prospectus* in the January number, to which the attention of the readers is directed.—*Editor*.

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Vol. IV.

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No. 1.

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EDITOR:

THOMAS G. APPLE, D.D.,

PROFESSOR IN THE THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY, LANCASTER, PA.

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